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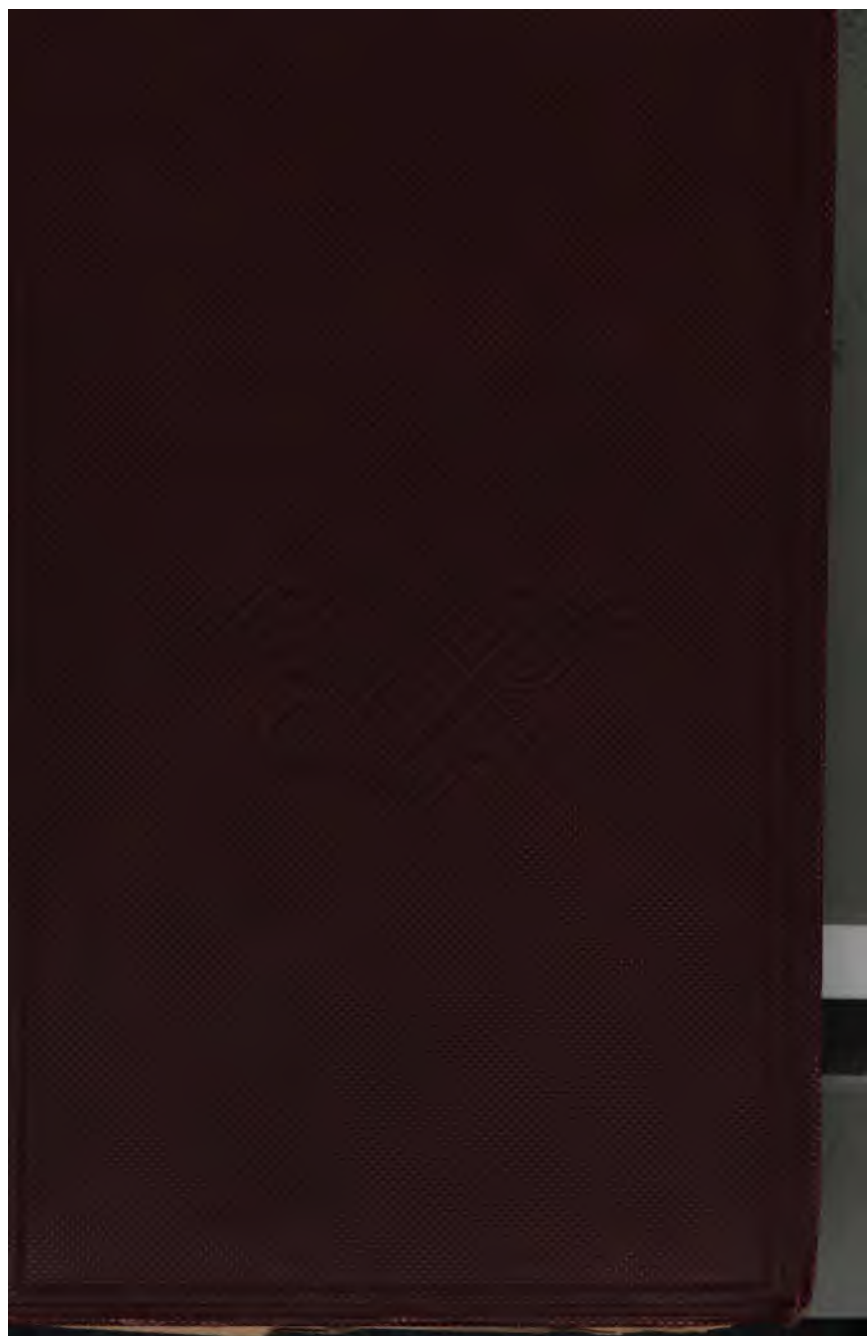
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REMAINS CONCERNING
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BY

WILLIAM CAMDEN,

CLARENCEUX, KING OF ARMS.



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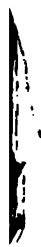
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TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCE,
CHARLES LODOWICK,

*By the Grace of God, Prince Elector, Arch-Dapifer and Vicar
of the Sacred Empire, Count Palatine of the ancient Princi-
pality of the Rhene, Duke of Bavare, and Knight
of the most Illustrious Order of the Garter.*

SIR,

IT hath pleased your Highness to acknowledge to have received much contentment in reading the description of Great Britain, made by William Camden, Esquire, Clarenceux, King of Arms. And this Book, being the remains of that greater work, was collected by him, and being now (with some Additions of mine) to be printed, it most humbly craves Patronage from your Highness. The Author was worthily admired for his great Learning, Wisdom, and Vertue through the Christian world. And as Pliny said to Vespasian, *Benignum etenim est & plenum ingenui pudoris fateri per quos profeceris*; it were a crime most wicked, if I should not acknowledge to have received many helps and much

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORY.

furtherance from him in the profession and quality wherein I serve his Majesty. But while I am mentioning Benefits, I were worthy of the foulest censure my self, if I should not confesse that the greatest happiness that ever hath or can befall me, was my imployment for the Presentation of the most Noble Order of the Garter, to your Highness in the Army at Bockstel. And standing thus deeply obliged, I shall ever pray, that successful and perpetual felicity may crown your Highness, and that in your Princely Clemency you will afford a gracious acceptance to the humble endeavours of

Your Highnesses thrice humble
and most faithful servant,

JO. PHILIPOT,

Somerſet Herald.





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most effectual means of forming his taste and moulding his judgment. From his familiarity at this time with George and Richard Carew and others is to be dated that inclination for the study of antiquities for which he afterwards became distinguished. Upon leaving the University he made a tour of a great part of England, and in the year 1575, obtained, by the friendship of Dean Goodman, the appointment of Second Master of Westminster School: here he contributed towards the attainment of classical learning, by compiling a Greek grammar for the use of the students, and at length attained in 1593 the office of Head Master.

He had been prevailed upon to undertake the "*Britannia*" by Abraham Ortelius, the great restorer of Geography, whom he assisted with a description of England for his "*Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*," published at Antwerp in 1584; and during every vacation continued his survey of the kingdom, in several excursions making notes of remarkable antiquities. In 1582 he travelled through Suffolk into Yorkshire, returning by way of Lancashire.

Camden entered on this task with the genuine enthusiasm of an antiquarian. Topography was then a new science, and many difficulties had to be encountered, particularly in the names of places; the Roman orthography and terminations had con-

siderably obscured the British, the Saxons had subsequently made an almost total alteration, and the long dominion of the Normans had effected still further changes ; to acquire this portion of topographical knowledge, Camden was therefore under the necessity of mastering a language which had become nearly obsolete ; he succeeded so far as to obtain the means of detecting the etymology, and explaining the meaning of many obscure names. The work required the labours of a learned author, and displayed a wide field for the exertion of talent and sound erudition, combined with much sagacity and ingenuity : it roused his industry, and stimulated his ambition to do his country honour and literature service. It was written in Latin for the benefit of foreigners, and was printed in 1586, in octavo, with this title,—“ *Britannia sive florentissimorum regnorum Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et Insularum adjacentium, ex intima antiquitate chorographica descriptio, &c.*,” and was dedicated to Lord Burghley, his great friend and patron.

In four years, there were three editions published in London, one at Frankfort, and one in another part of Germany. A fourth edition was printed at London, in 1594, in which the author enlarged much upon the pedigrees of noble houses. Camden, in 1597, was made Clarenceux, King of Arms, having the day before been nominated, for form

fake, Richmond herald, an appointment which greatly excited the jealousy of the members of the College of Arms. In 1599 appeared a discovery of certain errors of pedigrees in the "*Britannia*" of 1594, which were corrected in the fifth edition, printed in 1600, where, in a Latin reply to Ralph Brooke, the author of the discovery, he treated his adversary's knowledge of heraldry with unmerited contempt. To this literary controversy is owing much of the genealogical information now made available.

The last edition of the "*Britannia*" which received the corrections and improvements of the author, was printed in folio in 1607, and was illustrated by maps, copied from those previously published by Christopher Saxton; but these were the first in which the counties are divided into hundreds. It was successively translated by Dr. Philemon Holland, Bishop Gibson, and Richard Gough.

In the present improved state of topographical knowledge the value of Camden's "*Britannia*" has not been diminished. He was extremely capable of the task he had undertaken, and availed himself of the sagacity and erudition of many of his learned contemporaries.

His last work was the "*Annals of Elizabeth*," in 1615,—a book to which reference is made by all the subsequent historians of England.

Camden died at his seat at Chislehurst, in Kent, 9th Nov. 1623, æt. 73, and was buried in Westminster Abbey on the 19th, near the tomb of the learned critic, Casaubon, in the great southern transept, where he is commemorated by a monument, containing a half-length figure of him, resting his hand on his far-famed "Britannia."

[THOMAS MOULE.]

For the few Notes introduced, the Publisher is indebted to Mr. Mark Anthony Lower, F.S.A., but whose health, after a few pages were printed, prevented his further editorial superintendence of the volume.



REMAINS
Concerning
BRITAIN:
THEIR

<i>Languages,</i>	}	<i>Impresses,</i>
<i>Names,</i>		<i>Apparel,</i>
<i>Surnames,</i>		<i>Artillerie,</i>
<i>Allusions,</i>		<i>Wise Speeches,</i>
<i>Anagramms,</i>		<i>Proverbs,</i>
<i>Armories,</i>		<i>Poesies,</i>
<i>Moneys,</i>		<i>Epitaphs.</i>

Written by WILLIAM CAMDEN
Esquire, Clarenceux, King of Arms,
Surnamed the Learned.

The Seventh Impression, much amended,
with many rare Antiquities never before
Imprinted.

By the Industry and Care of JOHN PHILIPOT
Somerſet Herald: and W. D. Gent.

LONDON,
Printed for, and ſold by, *Charles Harper*, at the
Flower de Luce over againſt *St. Dunſon's Church*, and
John Amery at the *Peacock* over againſt *Fetter Lane*,
both in *Fleetſtreet*, 1674.



BRITAINE.

WHEREAS I have purposed in all this treatise to confine myself within the bounds of this Isle of Britain, it cannot be impertinent, at the very entrance to say somewhat of Britain, which is the only subject of all that is to be said, and well known to be the most flourishing and excellent, most renowned and famous isle of the whole world. So rich in commodities, so beautiful in situation, so resplendent in all glory, that if the most Omnipotent had fashioned the world round like a ring, as he did like a globe, it might have been most worthily the only gemme therein.

For the air is most temperate and wholesome, sited in the middest of the temperate zone, subject to no storms and tempests as the more southern and northern are, but stored with infinite delicate fowl. For water, it is walled and garded with the ocean, most commodious for traffick to all parts of the world, and watered with pleasant fish-ful and navigable rivers, which yield safe havens and roads, and furnished with shipping and sailers, that it may rightly be termed the "Lady of the Sea." That I may say nothing of healthful baths, and of mears

stored both with fish and fowl ; the earth fertile of all kind of grain, manured with good husbandry, rich in mineral of coals, tinne, lead, copper, not without gold and silver ;¹ abundant in pasture, replenished with cattel both tame and wild (for it hath more parks than all Europe besides), plentifully wooded, provided with all compleat provisions of war, beautified with many populous cities, fair boroughs, good towns, and well-built villages, strong munitions, magnificent palaces of the prince, stately houses of the nobility, frequent hospitals, beautiful churches, fair colledges, as well in other places as in the two Universities, which are comparable to all the rest in Christendome, not only in antiquity, but also in learning, buildings, and endowments. As for government ecclesiastical and civil, which is the very soul of a kingdom, I need to say nothing, when as I write to homeborn, and not to strangers.

But to praise Britain according as the dignity thereof requires, is a matter which may exercise, if not tire, the happiest wit furnished with the greatest variety of learning ; and some already have busied their brains and pens herein with no small labour and travel : let, therefore, these few lines in this behalf suffice, out of an ancient writer :—" Britain, thou art a glorious isle, extolled and renowned among all nations ; the navies of Tharsis cannot

¹ Tacitus speaks of the gold of Britain ; and modern geologists have found that precious metal in insignificant quantities, as, for instance, Sir H. T. De la Beche in the quartz of Gogofan, near Lampeter, and Dr. Mantell, in a sandpit at Chiddingfold, co. Sussex. Silver in larger quantities is met with in Cornwall and Devon. It is curious that our great antiquary overlooks iron in his enumeration of British metals. In his days this article was the staple manufacture of the south-eastern counties.—See "Contrib. to Literature," pp. 85, *et seq.*

be compared to thy shipping, bringing in all precious commodities of the world : the sea is thy wall, and strong fortifications do secure thy ports ; chivalry, clergy and merchandise do flourish in thee. The Pisans, Genoveses and Venetians do bring thee saphires, emeralds, and carbuncles from the East : Asia serveth thee with silk and purple, Africa with cinamon and balm, Spain with gold, and Germany with silver. Thy weaver, Flanders, doth drape cloth for thee of thine own wooll ; thy Gascoigne doth send thee wine ; buck and doe are plentiful in thy forrests ; droves of cattel and flocks of sheep are upon thy hills. All the perfection of the goodliest land is in thee. Thou hast all the fowl of the ayr. In plenty of fish thou dost surpass all regions. And albeit thou art not stretched out with large limits, yet bordering nations clothed with thy fleeces do wonder at thee for thy blessed plenty. Thy swords have been turned into plough-shares : peace and religion flourisheth in thee, so that thou art a mirrour to all Christian kingdoms."

Gascoigne
then under
the Crown
of Eng-
land.

Adde hereunto, if you please, these few lines out of a far more ancient panegyrist in the time of Constantine the Great. "O happy Britain, and more blisful than all other regions! Nature hath enriched thee with all commodities of heaven and earth, wherein there is neither extreme cold in winter, nor scorching heat in summer ; wherein there is such abundant plenty of corn as may suffice both for bread and wine ; wherein are woods without wild beasts, and the fields without noysom serpents ; but infinite numbers of milch cattel, and sheep weighed down with rich fleeces ; and, that which is most comfortable, long days and lightsome nights."

Ailredus
Rievallen-
sis.

So that, not without cause, it was accounted one of the fairest and most glorious plumes in the tri-

umphant diadem of the Roman Empire, while it was a province under the same; and was truly called by Charles the Great "the store-house and granary of the whole Western world."

But whereas the said panegyrist falleth into a gladfome admiration, how from hence there hath risen gracious princes, "as good gods honoured throughout the whole world," that if ever, as it was lately to our glorious joy evidently and effectually verified in our late soveraign, of most dear, sacred, and ever-glorious memory, Queen Elizabeth, the honour of her time, and the mirrour of succeeding ages; so with an assured confidence, we hope it will likewise be proved true in her undoubted and rightful successeur, our dread lord and soveraign, that to his endless honour, Mercy and Truth, Righteousness and Peace, may here kifs together; and true Religion, with her attendants Joy, Happiness, and Glory, may here for ever seat themselves under him, in whose person the two mighty kingdoms of England and Scotland, hitherto severed, are now conjoynded, and begin to close together into one, in their most ancient name of Britain.

If any would undertake the honour and precedence of Britain before other realms in serious manner, (for here I protest, once for all, I will pass over each thing lightly and slightly), a world of matter at the first view would present itself unto him. As that the true Christian religion was planted here most anciently by Joseph of Arimathea, Simon Zelotes, Aristobulus, yea, by Saint Peter and Saint Paul, as may be proved by Dorotheus, Theodoretus, Sophronius; and before the year of Christ 200 it was propagated, as Tertullian writes, to places of Britain, *inaccessa Romanis*, whither the Romans never reached, which cannot be understood but of that

part which was after called Scotland. The kingdoms also are most ancient, held of God alone, acknowledging no superiours, in no vassalage to emperor or Pope. The power of the kings more absolute than in most other kingdoms, their territories very large; for the kings of England, beside Ireland, have commanded from the Isles of Orkenay to the Pyrene mountains, and are *de jure* kings of all France by descent. The kings of Scotland, beside the ample realm of Scotland, commands the 300 Western Isles, the 30 of Orkney, and Schetland. Also, which was accounted a special note of majesty in former ages, the kings of England, with them of France, Jerusalem, Naples, and afterwards Scotland, were antiently the only anointed Kings of Christendome; which manner, begun among the Jews, was recontinued at length by the Christian emperours of Constantinople, with this word at the anointing, "Ἰσθὶ ἅγιος, that is, "Be holy," and "Ἰσθὶ ἄξιος, "Beworthy;" and from thence was that sacred ceremony brought to us and the other kingdom. In respect whereof our kings are capable of spiritual jurisdiction, according to that of our law, "Reges sacro oleo uncti sunt spiritualis jurisdictionis capaces."

As for that admirable gift, hereditary to the anointed princes of this realm, in curing the king's evil, I refer you to the learned discourse thereof lately written.¹ Neither would it be forgotten that

Tho.
Moore, in
the Debel-
lation Parl.
43, Ed. 3.

Caropales.

Term, Hi-
larii 33,
Edw. 3.

Charifma
of Doctor
Tooker.

¹ This superstition has been too often treated of by antiquaries to require further illustration here; but I may mention that a relic of it not generally known has survived within my own memory. Ashburnham Church, co. Suffex, was resorted to, less than a quarter of a century ago, by scrofulous persons, impressed with a full conviction that contact of the affected part with a shirt and a pair of drawers which were worn by King

Epist. Bo-
nif. sept.
ad. Ed. 1.
reg. Angliæ.

England, in the opinion of the popes (when they sway'd the world, and their authority was held sacred) was preferred, because it contained in the ecclesiastical division two large provinces, which had their several *Legati nati*, whereas France had scanty one. That Scotland was by them accounted an exempt kingdome, and a peculiar property appertaining to the Roman Chappel. And which was accounted in that age a matter of honour, when all Christianity in the Council of Constance was divided into nations, *Anglicana Natio* was one of the principal, and no subaltern. As also that in times past the emperor was accounted *major filius Ecclesiæ*, the king of France *filius minor*, and the king of England *filius tertius et adoptivus*. And so in general councils, as the king of France had place next the emperor on the right hand, so the king of England on the left; and the kings of Scotland, as appeareth in an ancient Roman provincial, had next place before Castile. And howsoever the Spaniard since Charles the Fifth's time challengeth the premier place in regard of the largeness of his dominions, Pope Julius the Second gave sentence for England before Spain in the time of King Henry the Seventh.

The arch-bishops of Canterbury, who were anciently stiled Arch-bishops of Britain, were adjudged by the popes "tanquam alterius orbis Pontifices maximi;" and they had their place in all general councils at the pope's right foot. The title also of *Defensor fidei* is as honourable, and more justly conferred upon the king of England than either *Christianissimus* upon the French, or *Catholicus* upon the Spaniard.

Charles the First on the scaffold (and which became the property of John Ashburnham, one of his majesty's attendants) would effect a cure! These relics, and a silver watch of the monarch, are now in the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham.

Neither is it to be omitted, which is so often recorded in our histories, when Brithwald the monk, not long before the Conquest, busied his brain much about the succession of the crown, because the blood royal was almost extinguished, he had a strange vision, and heard a voice, which forbade him to be inquisitive of such matters, resounding in his ears, "The kingdom of England is God's own kingdom, and for it God himself will provide."¹ But these and such like are more fit for a graver treatise than this. I will perform that I promised, in handling nothing seriously; and therefore I will bring you in some poets, to speak in this behalf for me, and will begin with old Alfred of Beverly, who made this for Britain in general, which you must not read with a censorious eye; for it is, as the rest I will cite, of the middle age, having heretofore used all of more ancient and better times in another work. But thus said he of Britain:

"Insula prædices quæ toto vix eget orbe,
Et cujus totus indiget orbis ope.
Insula prædices, cujus miretur, et optet,
Delicias Salomon, Octavianus opes."

For Scotland, the north part of Britain one lately, in a far higher strain and more poetically, sung these: Buchananus.

"Quis tibi frugiferæ memorabit jugera glebæ,
Aut æris gravidos, et plumbi pondere sulcos,
Et nitidos auro montes, ferroq. rigentes,
Deq. metalliferis manantia flumina venis:
Quæq. beant alias communia commoda gentes?"

For Wales, on the west side of Britain, an old riming poet² sung thus:

¹ See the story in Malmesbury, Dr. Giles's Trans. p. 247.

² The "old riming poet" here referred to is Walter Mapes, an ecclesiastic of the twelfth century, who wrote several Latin

"Terra fecunda fructibus, et carnibus, et piscibus,
 Domesticis, Silvestribus, Bobus, Equis, et ovibus.
 Læta cuncta feminibus, culmis, spicis, graminibus,
 Arvis, pratis, pecoribus, herbis gaudet et floribus,
 Fluminibus, et fontibus, convallibus, et montibus.
 Convalles pastum proferunt, Montes metalla conferunt.
 Carbo sub terræ cortice, crescit viror in vertice,
 Calcem per artis regulas, præbet ad tecta tegulas.
 Epularum materia, mel, lac, et lactinia,
 Mulsum, medo, cervisia, abundat in hac patria :
 Et quicquid vitæ congruit, ubertim terra tribuit.
 Sed ut de tautis dotibus, multa concludam brevibus,
 Stat hæc in orbis angulo, ac si Deus à seculo
 Hanc daret promptuarium cunctorum salutarium."

Hildebertus,
 Bishop
 of Maine.

But for England an old Epigrammatist made
 these with a Prosopopæia of Nature, the indulgent
 mother to England, which doth comprise as much
 as the best wits can now conceive in that behalf :

"Anglia terra ferax, tibi pax secunda quietem,
 Multiplicem luxum merx opulenta dedit.
 Tu nimio nec stricta gelu, nec fydere fervens,
 Clementi cælo, temperieque places.
 Cum pareret Natura parens, varioq. favore
 Divideret dotes omnibus una locis :
 Seposuit potiora tibi, matremque professa
 Insula sis felix, plenaque pacis, ait.
 Quicquid amat luxus, quicquid desiderat usus,
 Ex te proveniet, vel aliunde tibi."

Accordingly it is written in the "Black Book of
 the Exchequer" that our ancestors termed England
 a storehouse of treasure, and a paradise of pleasure
 in this verse :

"Divitisque sinum, delicisque larem."

Matth.
 Paris.

So that not without cause Pope Innocentius

poems. The one here quoted is entitled, *Cambriæ Epitome*.
Mapes's poems have been edited for the Camden Society by
Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., 1841.

the 4. most willingly and especially desired to see
 "divitias Londini, et delicias Westmonasterii ;"
 And would often say—"That England was a paradise
 or garden of pleasure, a pit which could never be
 drawn dry, and where much was, much might be
 had."

And accordingly in that age these verses were
 written in praise of England :

"Anglia dulce solum, quod non aliena recensque,
 Sed tua dulcedo pristina dulce facit.
 Quæ nihil a Gallis, sed Gallia mutuat a te,
 Quicquid honoris habet, quicquid amoris habet."

Merry Michael,¹ the Cornish poet, piped this upon
 his oaten pipe for England, but with a mocking
 compassion of Normandy, when the French usurped
 in the time of King John :

"Nobilis Anglia, pocula, prandia, donat et æra,
 Terra juvabilis et sociabilis, agmine plena,
 Omnibus utilis Anglia fertilis est, et amæna :
 Sed miserabilis et lachrymabilis absque caterva,
 Neustria debilis, et modo flebilis est, quia serva."

I know not whether these of Henry of Hunting-
 ton, though more ancient, are worthy to be re-
 membered :

"Anglia terrarum decus ; et flos finitimarum,
 Est contenta sui fertilitate boni.
 Externas gentes consumptis rebus egentes,
 Cum fames lædit, recreat et reficit.
 Commoda terra satis, mirandæ fertilitatis,
 Prosperitate viget, cum bona pacis habet."

Old Robert of Glocester, in the time of King
 Henry the Third, honoured his country with these

¹ Michael of Cornwall flourished A.D. 1250. The time and
 place of his death are uncertain. His family name was
Blaunpayn. See Fuller's "Worthies," ed. Nuttall, vol. i. p. 315.

his best English rimes, which I doubt not but some (although most now are of the new cut) will give the reading :

“England is a well good land ; in the stead best
Set in the one end of the world, and reigneth west.
The sea goeth him all about, he stynt as an yle :
Of foes it need the les doubt, but it be through gile :
Of folk of the self-land, as me hath I sey while.
From south to north it is long, eight hundred mile,
And two hundred mile broad from east to west to wend
Amid the land as it might be, and not as in the one end.
Plenty men may in England of all good see,
But folk it agult, other years the worse and worse be.
For England is full enough of fruit and of treene,
Of woods and of parks, that joy it is to seene.”

Have patience also to read that which followeth in him of some cities in this realm :

“In the countrey of Canterbury most plenty of Fish is,
And most chafe of wild beafts about Salisbury I wis.
And London ships most, and Wine at Winchester.
At Hartford Sheep and Oxe, and Fruit at Worcester.
Soap about Coventry, and Iron at Gloucester.
Metal, Lead, and Tin in the County of Exeter.
Everwike¹ of fairest wood ; Lincoln of fairest men.
Cambridge and Huntingto¹ most plenty of deep venne.
Ely of fairest place ; of fairest sight Rochester.

Far short was he that would comprife the excellencies of England in this one verse :

“Montes, fontes, pontes, ecclesia, foemina, lana.”

Mountains, fountains, bridges, churches, women, and wool, although in these it surpasseth.

But to conclude this, most truly our Lucan singeth of this our countrey.

“The fairest land, that from her thrusts the rest,
As if she car’d not for the world beside,
A world within her self with wonders blest.”

Sam.
Daniel.

¹ York, Eboracum.

THE INHABITANTS OF BRITAIN.

AS all the regions, with the whole world's frame, and all therein, was created by the Almighty, for his last and most perfect work, that goodly, upright, provident, subtle, witty, and reasonable creature, which the Greeks call *ανθρωπος*, for his upright look; the Latines *Homo*, for that he was made of mold; and we, with the Germans, call man; whose principal part, the mind, being the very image of God, and a petty world within himself: so he assigned, in his divine Providence, this so happy and worthy a region to men of answerable worth, if not surpassing, yet equalling the most excellent inhabitants of the earth, both in the endowments of mind, lineaments of body, and their deportment both in peace and war; as, if I would enter into this discourse, I could very easily shew.

Cicero.

Pet. Non-nim.

But overpassing their natural inclination by heavenly influence, answerable to the disposition of Aries, Leo, and Sagittary; and Jupiter, with Mars, dominators for this North-west part of the world, which maketh them impatient of servitude, lovers of liberty, martial and couragious; I will only in particular note somewhat, and that summarily, of the Britains, Scottish, and English, the three principal Inhabitants.

Ptol. in Quadrip.

The Britains, the most ancient people of this Isle, anciently inhabited the same from sea to sea, whose valour and prowess is renowned both in Latine and Greek monuments, and may appear in these two points, which I will here only note. First, that the most puissant Roman forces, when

Britains.

Plinius.

Notitia
provincia-
rum.

Pict.
Britains.

Welsh;
Britains.

they were at the highest, could not gain of them (being but then a half naked people) in thirty whole years, the countries from the Thames to Striviling. And when they had gained them and brought them into form of a province, they found them so warlike a people, that the Romans levied as many Cohorts, Companies, and Ensigns of Britains from hence for the service of Armenia, Ægypt, Illyricum, their frontire Countries, as from any other of their Provinces whatsoever. As for those Britains which were farther North, and after, as is most probable, called Picts (for that they still painted themselves when the Southern parts were brought to civility), they not only most courageously defended their liberty, but offended the Romans with continual and most dangerous incursions.

The other remainder of the Britains, which retired themselves to the West parts, now called Wales, with like honour of fortitude, for many hundred years repelled the yoke both of the English and Norman slavery. In which time how warlike they were, I will use no other testimony than that of King Henry the Second, in his letter Emanuel, Emperour of Constantinople: "The Welch Nation is so adventurous, that they dare encounter naked with armed men, ready to spend their blood for their country, and pawn their life for praise." How active and serviceable they were when King Richard Cœur-de-lion led an army of them into France, have this testimony of William Britton (who then lived) in his fifth book of Philippeidos:—

"Protinus extremis Anglorum finibus agmen
Wallorum immensum numero vocat, ut nemorosa
Per loca discurrant, ferroque ignique furore
Innato, nostri vastent confinia regni.

Gens Wallensis habet hoc naturale per omnes

Indigenas, primis proprium quod servat ab annis
 Pro domibus sylvas, bellum pro pace frequentat ;
 Irasci facilis, agilis per devia cursu,
 Nec soleis plantas, caligis nec crura gravantur,
 Frigus docta pati, nulli cessura labori.
 Veste brevi, corpus nullis oneratur ab armis.
 Nec munit thorace latus, nec casside frontem,
 Sola gerens, hosti cædem quibus inferat, arma,
 Clavam cum jaculo, venabula, gesa, bipennem,
 Arcum cum pharetris, nodosæque tela, vel hastam
 Assiduis gaudens prædis, fusoque crurore."

How afterward, in process of time, they con-
 formed themselves to all civility, and the reason
 thereof appeareth by these lines of a poet then
 flourishing¹ :—

"Mores antiqui Britonum jam ex convictu Saxonum
 Commutantur in melius, ut patet ex his clarius.
 Hortos et agros excolunt, ad oppida se conferunt,
 Et loricati equitant, et calceati peditant,
 Urbane se reficiunt, et sub tapetis dormiunt,
 Ut judicentur Anglici nunc potius, quam Wallici.
 Hujus si quæretur ratio, quietius quam solito
 Cui illi vivant hodie, in causa sunt divitiæ,
 Quas cito gens hæc perderet, si passim nunc confligeret.
 Timor damni hos retrahit, nam nil habens nil metuit.
 Et ut dixit Satyricus : Cantat portator vacuus
 Coram latrone tutior, quam phaleratus ditior."

And since they were subjected to the imperial
 crown of England, they have, to their just praise,
 performed all parts of dutiful loyalty and allegiance
 most faithfully thereunto ; plentifully yielding Mar-
 tial Captains, judicious Civilians, skilful common
 Lawyers, learned Divines, compleat Courtiers, and
 adventurous Souldiers. In which commendations
 their cousins the Cornishmen do participate pro-

¹ *Walter Mapes, "Cambriæ Epitome," line 185.*

portionably, although they were sooner brought under the English command.

Armorican
or French
Britains.

Great, also, is the glory of those Britains which, in that most doleful time of the English invasion, withdrew themselves into the west parts of Gallia, then called Armorica. For they not only seated themselves there, maugre the Romans (then indeed low, and near setting) and the French; but also imposed their names to the Countrey, held and defended the same against the French, until, in our Grandfathers memory, it was united to France by the sacred bonds of matrimony.

Scottish-
men.

Bed. lib. 1.

Next after the Britains, the Scottish men, coming out of Ireland, planted themselves in this Isle on the North side of Cluid, partly by force, partly by favour of the Picts, with whom a long time they annoyed the Southern parts; but after many bloody battels amongst themselves, the Scottish men subdued them, and established a Kingdom in those parts, which, with man-like courage and warlike prowess, they have maintained, and have purchased great honour abroad. For the French cannot but acknowledge they have seldom atchieved any honourable acts without Scottish hands, who therefore are deservedly to participate the Glory with them. As also divers parts of France, Germany, and Switzerland, cannot but confess that they owe to the Scottish Nation the propagation of good letters and Christian Religion amongst them.

English-
men.

After the Scottishmen, the Angles, Englishmen or Saxons, by Gods wonderful Providence were transplanted hither out of Germany; a people composed of the valiant Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, then inhabiting Jutland, Holsten, and the sea-coasts, along to the river Rhene; who, in short time subduing the Britains, and driving them into the

mountainous western parts, made themselves a most compleat conquest, absolute lords of all the better soyl thereof, as far as Orkeney. Which cannot be doubted of, when their English tongue reacheth so far along the east coast, unto the farthest parts of Scotland, and the people thereof are called by the Highlandmen, which are the true Scots, by no other name than Saxon, by which they also call us the English.

See after-
ward in
Lan-
guages.

This warlike, victorious, stiff, stout, and vigorous Nation, after it had, as it were, taken root here about one hundred and sixty years, and spread his branches far and wide, being mellowed and mollified by the mildness of the soyl and sweet air, was prepared in fulness of time for the first spiritual blessing of God ; I mean our regeneration in Christ, and our ingrafting into his mystical body by holy Baptism. Which Beda, our Ecclesiastical Historian, recounteth in this manner, and I hope you will give it the reading. "Gregory the Great, Bishop of Rome, on a time saw beautiful boys to be sold in the market at Rome, and demanded from whence they were ; answer was made him, out of the Isle of Britain. Then asked he again whether they were Christians or no ? they said no. 'Alas for pity,' said Gregory, 'that the foul fiend should be Lord of such fair folks, and that they which carry such grace in their countenances, should be void of grace in their hearts.' Then he would know of them by what name their Nation was called, and they told him, 'Anglesthmen.' 'And justly be they so called' (quoth he), 'for they have Angelick faces, and seem meet to be made coheirs with the Angels in heaven.'"

Lib. 2,
cap. 1.

Since which time, they made such happy progress in the Christian profession, both of faith and works,

that if I should but enter into consideration thereof, I should be overwhelmed with main tides of matter. Many and admirable monuments thereof do everywhere at home present themselves to your view, erected in former times (and no small number in our age, although few men note them), not for affectation of fame or ostentation of wealth, but to the glory of God, increase of faith, of learning, and to maintenance of the poor. As for abroad, the world can testify that four Englishmen have converted to Christianity eight Nations of Europe.¹ Winifrid, alias Boniface, the Denishire-man, converted the German Saxons, Franconians, Hessians,

¹ This is a remarkable fact, whatever may be thought of the mode of conversion employed by some of these four English Evangelists. Winifrid, alias Boniface—"The Denishire (Devonshire) man," was patronized by Pope Gregory II., who sent him to Germany, where, in the districts of Bavaria, Thuringia, Hesse, Saxony, and Friesland, he baptized a hundred thousand "of that stiff-necked nation." "Bilious" Bale says that he converted them in the style of Mahomet, "terrore magis quam doctrina,"—a charge which "Worthy" Fuller ingeniously rebuts (i. 400). He suffered martyrdom, together with fifty-four of his companions, at Borne in Friesland, A.D. 755. Willebrod, or Willebald, was nephew of St. Boniface, converted the Low Germans, and died bishop of Eysted in 781. Nicholas Breakspeare, afterwards Pope Adrian IV. was employed by the Holy See in the conversion of the Norwegians. "Anti-christiano caractere Norwegios signavit," says Bale, with, doubtless, too much truth. Thomas Waldensis, of Walden in Essex, a Carmelite, was a curious illustration of the "lucus a non lucendo;" for, as Fuller remarks, he might more justly have been termed "Anti-Waldensis," being the most virulent enemy of the Wickliffites, the spiritual descendants of the Waldenses. Whatever may be said of his labours in the conversion of the Lithuanians, he was a fierce persecutor,—"the bellows," as quaint old Fuller phrases it, "which blew up the coals for the burning of those poor Christians in England under King Henry the Sixth."

and Thuringians ; Willebrod, the Northern man, the Frisians and Hollanders ; Nicholas Brakespeare of Middlesex, who was afterwards called Pope Hadrian, the Norwegians ; and not long since, Thomas de Walden of Essex, the Lithuanians. Neither will I here note, which strangers have observed, that England hath bred more Princes renowned for sanctity than any Christian Nation whatsoever.

It doth also redound to the eternal honour of England that our countrymen have twice been Schoolmasters to France : first, when they taught the Gaules the discipline of the Druides ; and after, when they and the Scottishmen first taught the French the liberal Arts, and perswaded Carolus Magnus to found the University of Paris. They also brought into France the best laws which the Parliament of Paris and Burdeaux have now in use. They, at the lowest ebbe of learning, amazed the world with their excellent knowledge in Philosophy and Divinity ; for that I may not particulate of Alexander of Hales, the Irrefragable Doctor, Schoolmaster to the Angelique Doctor Thomas Aquinas, one Colledge in Oxford brought forth in one age those four lights of learning, Scotus the Subtile, Bradwardine the Profound, Okham the Invincible, and Burley the Perspicuous, and as some say, Baconthorpe the Resolute ; which titles they had by the common consent of the judicial and learned of that and the succeeding ages.

Merton
Colledge.

Yet their military glory hath surpassed all ; for they have terrified the whole world with their Arms in Syria, Ægypt, Cyprus, Spain, Sicily and India.

They have traversed with most happy victories both France and Scotland, brought away their Kings captives, conquered Ireland, and the Isle of

Cypres, which King Richard the first gave frankly to Guy of Lusignian ; and lately, with a maiden's hand, mated the mightiest Monarch in his own Countries. They, beside many other notable discoveries, twice compassed the whole globe of the earth with admirable success, which the Spaniards have yet but once performed. Good Lord, how spaciouſly might a learned pen walk in this argument !

But lest I should seem over prodigal in the praise of my countrymen, I will only present you with some few verses in this behalf ; and first this Latine Rithme of the middle times, in praise of the English Nation, with some close cautions. Its quilted, as it were, out of shreds of divers Poets, such as Scholars do call a Cento :

“ Quo versu Anglorum possim describere gentem,
Sæpe mihi dubiam traxit sententia mentem.
Sunt in amicitia percussio fœdere veri.

Major at est virtus, quàm quærere, parta tueri.

Sunt bello fortes, alacres, validique duellis,

Aspera sed positis mitescant secula bellis.

Sunt nitidi, culti florent virtutis amore,

Sed nihil est virtus, nisi cum pietatis honore.

Quid sit avaritiæ pestis gens Anglica nescit,

Crescit amor dandi, quantu ipsa pecunia crescit.

Ætas prima studet, dare largè, dando vireſcit.

Vas nisi sincerum quodcunque infundus aceſcit.

Lautior est illis cum mensa divite cultus,

Accedunt hilares semper super omnia vultus.

Non ibi Damætas pauper dicit Melibœo,

In cratere meo Thetis est sociata Lyæo.

Gratius ingenium datur his, et gratia morum,

Sic norunt quàm sit dulcis mixtura bonorum.

Anglorum cur est gens quævis invida genti ?

Summa petit livor, perflant altissima venti.”

And for the Scottish Nation this of their own Poet :

"Illa pharetratis est propria gloria Scotis,
Cingere venatu saltus, superare notando
Flumina, ferre famem, contemnere frigora et ætus :
Nec fossa et muris patriam, sed Marte tueri,
Et spreta incolumem vita defendere famam,
Polliciti servare fidem sanctumque vereri
Numen amicitiae, mores non munus amare."

The merry, free, and frank disposition of the old English was thus described by Alfred of Beverly :

"Anglis plena jocos, gens libera et apta jocari :
Libera gens cui libera mens et libera lingua,
Sed lingua melior, liberiorque manus."

The desire of knowledge in the English, the contempt thereof in the French Britons, and the swelling pride of Normans, was thus rhimed on in that time :

"Scire Anglis sitis est, sitis est nescire Britannis,
Factus Normannis crescit crescentibus annis."

Pope Eugenius the fourth said, that the Englishmen were fit for any thing, and to be preferred before other Nations, were it not for their wavering and unsettled lightness. *Policraticon.*

The sweet that the Pope sucked hence a long time so easily gave occasion to their successors to suck England almost dry with extorting from the Clergy, and imposing such burdens upon them, that Adam de Murymuth called Englishmen "The Popes Asses, willing to bear all burdens whatsoever." In this respect another Pope, playing upon people at his pleasure, said that the Italians were *Volatilia cæli*, the French and Spaniards *Pisces æquoris*, the English and Germans *Pecora campi*.

Salt and sharp was he which said, French and English do not read as they write. Flemings and Germans do not sing as they prick. Spaniards and Italians do not mean as they speak.

The hypercritical controller of Poets, Julius Scaliger, doth so severely censure Nations, that he seemed to sit in the chair of the scornful, and therefore I will omit him and his censures, lest I might seem to approve them.

Camerarius more moderately writeth: "The Germans are warlike, plain-meaning and liberal; The Italians proud, vindicative and witty; The French well made, intemperate and heady; The Spaniards disdainers, advised, pilling and polling; Englishmen stirring, trading, busie and painful."

The Frenchmen are not altogether untrue and unfavourable to England in this their proverbial speech: "England is the Paradise of women, the Purgatory of servants, and the Hell of horses."

Lewes Regius or Le Roy, in his vicissitudes, observeth that the Spaniards commonly are haughty, the Moors disloyal, the Greeks wary, the Italians advised, the French hardy, the French and Scots lusty and stout.

But most true this may seem which runneth current every where: "The Bridges of Poland, the Devotion of Italians, the Fafts of Germans, the Monks of Boeme, the Nuns of Suaben, the Religion of Pruze, the Constancy of the French, the impatience of the Spaniard, the new Guise of the English, are suitable, like unto like.

A certain Italian in his censuring humour noteth, that such is the humour of the Englishman, the more charge and authority he hath, the more matters he covets to thrust himself into, albeit impertinent to him, to make himself esteemed above that he is; and whatsoever he enterpriseth, either for favour or displeasure, he maintaineth by right or wrong.

The Welchmen, our neighbours, or rather our

incorporate countrymen, both by approved allegiance and law, in their British old book of Triplcities, write: "As welsh men do love Fire, Salt, and Drink; the Frenchmen Women, Weapons, and Horses; so Englishmen do especially like good Cheer, Lands and Traffick." This good chear causeth the Germans to recharge us with gluttony, when we charge them with drunkenness; which, as we received from the Danes, so we first taught the French all their Kitchen-skill, and furnishing their Tables.

P. Jovius.

And in the same place: "The Welsh are liberal, the French courteous, the English confident."

Doctor Bourd¹ shall end these matters,—who painted, for an English man, a proper fellow naked, with a pair of Tailors shears in one hand and a piece of cloth on his arm,—with these rhimes—how truly and aptly, I refer to each mans particular consideration:

"I am an Englishman, and naked I stand here,
Musing in my mind what garment I shall wear;
For now I will wear this, and now I will wear that,
Now I will wear I cannot tell what.
All new fashions be pleasant to me,
I will have them whether I thrive or thee.
Now I am a frisker, all men on me look,
What should I do but set Cock on the hoop?
What do I care, if all the world me sail,
I will have a garment reach to my tail:
Then am I minion, for I wear the new guise,
The next year after I hope to be wise,
Not only in wearing my gorgeous array,
For I will go to learning a whole Summers day:
I will learn Latine, Hebrew, Greek, and French,
And I will learn Dutch sitting on my bench.

¹ Dr. Andrew Borde, in his "Boke on the Introduction of Knowledge," dedicated to the princess (afterwards queen) Mary. See *Suffex Archæological Collections*, vol. vi. p. 204.

I do fear no man, all men feareth me ;
 I overcome my adversaries by land and by sea :
 I had no peer, if to my self I were true ;
 Because I am not so, divers times do I rue ;
 Yet I lack nothing : I have all things at will,
 If I were wise and would hold my self still,
 And meddle with no matters but to me pertaining,
 But ever to be true to God and my King.
 But I have such matters rowling in my pate,
 That I will and do I cannot tell what.
 No man shall let me, but I will have my mind,
 And to father, mother, and friend I'll be unkind.
 I will follow mine own mind and mine old trade,
 Who shall let me ? the divels nails are unpar'd ;
 Yet above all things new fashions I love well,
 And to wear them my thrift I will sell.
 In all this world I shall have but a time :
 Hold the cup, good fellow, here is thine and mine."

LANGUAGES.

FROM the people we will now proceed to the Languages. Here would Scholars shew you the first confusion of Languages out of Moses, that the Gods had their peculiar tongue out of Homer ; that bruit Beasts, Birds and Fishes, had their own proper languages out of Clemens Alexandrinus. They would teach you out of Euphorus, that there were but two and fifty tongues in the world, because so many souls out of Jacob descended into Ægypt ; and out of Arnobius, that there were seventy two. Albeit Timosthenes reporteth that in Diofcurias, a mart Town of Colchis, there trafficked three hundred Nations of divers languages ; And howsoever our Indian or American discoverers say, that in

every fourscore mile in America, and in every valley almost of Peru, you shall find a new language. Neither would they omit the Island where the people have cloven tongues out of the fabulous Narrations of Diodorus Siculus ; yea, they would lash out of the Utopian language with

“ Volvola Barchin hemam, la lalvola drame pagloni.”

When, as it is a greater glory now to be a Linguist than a Realist, they would moreover discourse at large, which I will tell you in a word.

First, the British tongue, or Welsh (as we now call it), was in use only in this Island, having great affinity with the old Gallique of Gaul, now France, from whence the first inhabitants in all probability came hither. Afterward the Latin was taken up, when it was brought into the form of a Province, by little and little :—first about the time of Domitian, according to that notable place of Tacitus, where he reporteth that Julius Agricola, Governour here for the Romans, preferred the Britains, as able to do more by wit than the Gauls by study : “ Ut qui ” (saith he) “ modò linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam concupiscerent. Inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga : ”—then when Roman Colonies were here planted, and the people ruled by Roman laws, written in the Latine tongue ; but especially, after that, all born in the Roman Provinces were enfranchised Citizens of Rome by Adrian the Emperour, as S. Chrysoft. writeth ; or rather by Marcus Antoninus, as Aurel. Victor reporteth. Then the world accounted themselves all one Nation, and sung, “ Jam cuncti gens una fumus.” As Rutilius to Romes praise :

Britania,
Camdeni.

Latine
tongue in
the Roman
Provinces.

“ Dumque offers victis proprii consortia juris,
Urbem fecisti, quod prius orbis erat.”

Hence it is that so many latine words remain in the French, Spanish and other tongues, as also from the Popes practice, who imposed the Latine tongue in the divine Service, as a token of subjection to the Roman Sea.

Notwithstanding, in this Isle the British overgrew the Latine, and continueth yet in Wales, and some villages of Cornwall, intermingled with Provincial Latine, being very significative, copious, and pleasantly running upon agnominations, although harsh in aspirations. After the Irish tongue was brought into the Northwest parts of the Isle out of Ireland by the ancient Scottishmen, and there yet remaineth. Lastly, the English-Saxon tongue came in by the English-Saxons out of Germany, who valiantly and wisely performed here all the three things which imply a full conquest—viz. the alteration of laws, language, and attire.

This English tongue is extracted, as the nation, from the Germans, the most glorious of all now extant in Europe for their moral and martial virtues, and preserving the liberty entire, as also for propagating their language by happy victories in France by the Franks and Burgundians; in this Isle by the English-Saxons; in Italy by the Heruli, West-Goths, Vandals, and Lombards; in Spain by the Suevians and Vandales. And this tongue is of that extension at this present, that it reacheth from Switzerland, and from the fountains of Rhene over all ancient Germany, both high and low, as far as the river Vistula (except Bohemia, Silesia, and part of Polonia, which speak the Sclavonian tongue), and also over Denmark, Sweden, Gotland, Norway [and] Island to the Hyperborean or Frozen-Sea, without any great variety, as I could prove particularly. But let this suffice, that for the Latine

conjunction, copulative ET, we and the Saxons in Germany use *And*, the Netherlands *End*, the Switzers *Vnnd*, other Germans *Ond*, the Gotlanders *Vnt*, the Islanders *Ant*, as the old Franks used *Eind* and *Ind*.

And to the honour of our progenitors (the English Saxons) be it spoken, their conquest was more absolute here over the Britains than either of the Franks in France over the Gauls, or the Goths and Lombards in Italy over the Romans, or of the Goths, Vandals, and Moors over the antient Spaniards in Spain: for in those nations much of the provincial Latine (I mean the Latine used whilest they were Provinces of the Romans) remaineth, which they politickly had spread over their Empire, as is already said.

But the English-Saxon conquerours altered the tongue which they found here wholly, so that no British words or provincial Latin appeared therein at the first; and in short time they spread it over this whole Island, from the Orcades to the Isle of Wight, except a few barren corners in the Western parts, whereunto the reliques of the Britains and Scots retired, preserving in them both their life and language. For certain it is that the greatest and best parts, the East and South of Scotland, which call themselves the Lowland-men, speak the English tongue, varied only in Dialect, as descended from the English-Saxons; and the old Scottish, which is the very Irish, is used only by them of the West, called the Hechland-men, who call the other as the Welsh call us Saffons, Saxons, both in respect of language and original, as I shewed before.

I dare not yet here affirm, for the antiquity of our language, that our great-great-great-grandfathers

tongue came out of Persia ; albeit the wonderful linguist, Joseph Scaliger, hath observed, Fader, Moder, Bruder, bond, &c. in the Persian tongue, in the very sence as we now use them.

It will not be unproper, I hope, to this purpose if I note out of the Epistles of that learned Ambassador Busbequius, how the inhabitants of Taurica Cherfoneffus, in the uttermost part of Europe Eastward, have these words, Wind, Silver, Corn, Salt, Fish, Son, Apple, Waggen, Singen, Ilanda, Beard, with many other, in the very same sence and signification as they now are in use with us ; whereat I marvelled not a little when I first read it. But nothing can be gathered thereby but that the Saxons, our progenitors, which planted themselves here in the West, did also, to their glory, place Colonies likewise there in the East.¹

As in the Latine tongue, the learned make, in respect of time, four Idioms—the Ancient, the Latine, the Roman, the Mixt ; so we in ours may make the Ancient, English-Saxon, and the Mixt. But that you may see how powerful Time is in altering tongues as all things else, I will set down the Lords Prayer as it was translated in sundry ages, that you may see by what degrees our tongue is risen, and thereby conjecture how in time it may alter and fall again.

If we could set it down in the ancient Saxon—I mean in the tongue which the English used at their

¹ This notion of Camden has recently been revived by one or two ethnologists, without, as I venture to think, any substantial evidence. The tide of population, and consequently of language, has ever set westward. The correspondence between English and Oriental words, noticed in this and the foregoing passage, ought undoubtedly to be ascribed to a common parentage in middle Asia.

first arrival here, about 440 years after Christs birth—it would seem most strange and harsh Dutch, or Geberish, as women call it ; or when they first embraced Christianity, about the year of Christ 600. But the ancientest that I can find was about 900 years since, about the year of Christ 700, found in antient Saxon glossed Evangelists, in the hands of my good friend M. Robert Bowyer, written by Eadfride, the eight Bishop of Lindisfarne (which after was translated to Durham), and divided according to the ancient Canon of Eusebius, not into chapters ; for Stephen Langton, Archb. of Canterbury, first divided the holy Scriptures into Chapters, as Robert Stephan did lately into verses ; and thus it is :

Holy
Island.

"Our Father which art in heaven
Vren Fader thic arth in heofnas,

be hallowed thine name. come
Sic gehalgud thin noma to cymeth

thy kingdom. Be thy will so as in
thin ric. Sic thin willa sue is in

heaven and in earth. Our lufe
heofnas, and in eortho. Vren hlaf

Super-flantial give us to day, and
ofer wittlic sel us to daeg, and

forgive us debts ours, so we for-
forgesf us scylda urna, sue we for-

give debts ours, and do not lead
gesan scyldgum vrum ; and no inlead

us into temptation. But deliver every one
vstih in custnung. Ah gefrig vrich

from evil.
from ifle. Amen."

Some two hundred years after, I find this somewhat varied in two Translations :

“Thur vre fader the eart on heofenum
Si thin nama gehalgod. Cum thin ric.

* Gewurth
thin willa.

*Si thin willa on eorthan, swa swa on heofe-
num. Syle us to dæg urn dægthanlican hlaf
daily

And forgif us ure gyltas swa, swa we for-
trespasses
gifath† tham the with us agyltath. And ne

† Vrum
gyletndum

led the us on coftnung, Ac alys us from
Be it so.

‡ Sothlice.

yfle.‡ Si it swa.”

About an hundred and threescore years after, in the time of King Henry the second, I find this rhyme sent from Rome by Pope Adrian, an Englishman, to be taught to the people :

“Ure fadyr in heaven rich,
Thy name be halyed ever lich :
Thou bring us thy michel blifs,
Als hit in heaven y-do,
Evar in yearth been it also :
That holy bread that lasteth ay,
Thou fend it ous this ilke day.
Forgive ous all that we have don,
As we forgivet uch other mon :
Ne let ous fall into no founding,
Ac shield ous fro the fowl thing. Amen.”

Neither was there any great variation in the time of King Henry the 3, as appeareth in this of that age, as I conjecture by the Character :

“Fader that art in heaven blifs,
Thin helge nam it wurth the blifs.

Cumen and mot thy kingdom,
 Thin holy will it be all don.
 In heaven and in erdh also,
 So it shall bin full well Ic tro.
 Gif us all bread on this day,
 And forgif us ure fins,
 As we do ure wider wins :
 Let us not in fonding fall,
 Oac fro evil thu fyld us all. Amen."

In the time of King Richard the second, about a hundred and odde years after, it was so mollified that it came to be thus, as it is in the Translation of Wickeliffe, with some Latine words now inserted, whereas there was not one before :

" Our fadyr, that art in heaven ; halloed be thy name ; thy kingdom com to ; be thy will done, so in heaven, and in erth : gif to us this day our bread over other substance : and forgif to us our *dettis*, as we forgiven to our *detters*, and leed us not into *temptation*, but *deliver* us fro evil. Amen."

Hitherto will our sparkful youth laugh at their great-grandfathers English, who had more care to do well than to speak minion-like, and left more glory to us by their exploiting of great Acts, than we shall do by our forging of new words and uncouth phrases.¹

Great, verily, was the glory of our tongue, before the Norman Conquest, in this—that the old English could express most aptly all the conceits of the mind in their own tongue without borrowing from any. As for example :

¹ Well said, great "Nourice of Antiquitie !" But what would you say, now, to the condition of your venerable mother tongue, when, according to an able modern writer, Dr. Sullivan, "we are indebted to the language of the Romans for far the greater portion of our vocabulary !"

The holy service of God, which the Latins called Religion, because it knitted the minds of men together—and most people of Europe have borrowed the same from them—they called most significantly Ean-fastnes, as the one and only assurance and fast anchor-hold of our souls health.

The gladsome tidings of our salvation, which the Greeks called Evangelion, and other Nations in the same word, they called Godspel—that is, Gods speech.

For our Saviour, which we borrowed from the French, and they from the Latin *Salvator*, they called in their own word Haelend, from Hael—that is, *Salus*, safety ; which we retain still in Al-hael and Waf-hael—that is, *Ave, Salve, Sis salvus*.

They could call the disciples of Christ Learning Cnihtas, that is, Learning Servitors ; for Cniht, which is now a name of worship, signified with them an Attendant, or servitour.

They could name the Pharisees, according to the Hebrew Sunder-halgens, as holy religious men, which had sundered and severed themselves from other.

The Scribes they could call in their proper signification, as Book-men, *Bocer*. So they called parchment, which we have catcht from the Latin *pergamenum* Book-fell in respect of the use.

So they could call the Sacrament Haligdome, as holy judgment ; for so it is according as we receive it.

They could call fertility and fruitfulness of land significatively Eordef-weld, as wealth of the earth.

They could call a Comet a Fixed Star, which is all one with *Stella crinita* or *cometa*. So they did call the judgment-seat Domesettle.

That which we call the Parliament, of the

French *Parler*, to speak, they called a Wittenmot, as the Meeting and assembly of wise men.

The certain and inward knowledge of that which is in our mind, be it good or bad, which in the Latine word we call *conscience*, they called Inwit, as that which they did inwardly wit and wote, that is, know certainly.

That in a River which the Latines call *Alveus*, and *Canalis*, and from thence most Nations of Europe name the Chanel, Kanel, Canale, &c. they properly called the Stream-race.

Neither in the degrees of kindred were they destitute of significative words; for he whom we of a French and English compound word call Grandfather, they called Ealdfader; whom we call Great-Grandfather, they called Thirda-fader; so, him which we call Great Great Grandfather, they called Forda-fader, and his father Fifta-fader.¹

An Eunuch, for whom we have no name, but from the Greeks, they could aptly name Unstana, that is, without stones, as we use unspotted for without spot, Unlearned for without learning.

A covetous man, whom we so call of the French *Convoiteuse*, they truly called Git-for, as a fore and eagre Getter and Gatherer.

That which the Latines call *Abortus*, and we in many words Untimely birth, or Born before the full time, they called Mis-born.

A Porter, which we have received from the French, they could in their own word as significatively call a Doreward.

¹ The loss of these old terms indicative of ancestral degrees from our language is much to be regretted. The Anglo-Saxon is much more expressive and clear in this respect than the Latin *avus*, *proavus*, *abavus*, *atarvus*, *tritavus*, &c.

I could particulate in many more, but this would appear most plentifully, if the labours of the learned Gentlemen Master Laurence Nowel, of Lincolns-Inne, who first in our time recalled the study hereof, Master William Lambert, Master I. Joscelin, Master Fr. Tate, were once published; otherwise it is to be feared that devouring Time in few years will utterly swallow it, without hope of recovery.

The alteration and admiration in our tongue, as in all others, hath been brought in by entrance of Strangers, as Danes, Normans and others, which have swarmed hither; by traffick, for new words as well as for new wares, have always come in by the tyrant Time, which altereth all under heaven; by Use, which swayeth most, and hath an absolute command in words, and by pregnant wits: specially since that learning, after long banishment, was recalled in the time of King Henry the eighth, it hath been beautified and enriched out of other good tongues, partly by enfranchising and endenizing strange words, partly by refining and mollifying old words, partly by implanting new words with artificial composition, happily containing themselves within the bounds prescribed by Horace: So that our tongue is (and I doubt not but hath been) as copious, pithy and significative as any other tongue in Europe; and I hope we are not yet, and shall not hereafter come to, that which Seneca saw in his time: "When mens minds begin once to inure themselves to dislike, whatsoever is usual is disdained. They affect novelty in speech, they recal fore-worn and uncouth words, they forge new phrases, and that which is newest is best liked; there is presumptuous and far fetching of words. And some there

are that think it a grace if their speech do hover, and thereby hold the hearer in suspense." You know what followeth.

Omitting this, pardon me, and think me not over-ballanced with affection if I think that our English tongue is, I will not say, as sacred as the Hebrew or as learned as the Greek ; but as fluent as the Latin, as courteous as the Spanish, as Court-like as the French, and as amorous as the Italian, as some Italianated amorous have confessed. Neither hath any thing detracted more from the dignity of our tongue than our own affecting of forraign tongues, by admiring, praising, and studying them above measure ; whereas the wise Romans thought no small part of their honour to consist in the honour of their language, esteeming it a dishonour to answer any forraigner in his own language : as for a long time the English placed in the Borrough-towns of Ireland and Wales would admit neither Irish nor Welsh among them. And not long since, for the honour of our native tongue, Henry Fitz-Allen, Earl of Arundel, in his travel into Italy, and the Lord William Howard of Effingham, in his government of Calice, albeit they were not ignorant of other forreign tongues, would answer no strangers by word or writing but only in English : as in this consideration also before them, Cardinal Wolsey, in his Ambassage into France, commanded all his servants to use no French, but meer English to the French, in all communication whatsoever.

As for the Monosyllables so rife in our tongue, which were not so originally, although they are unfitting for verses and measures, yet are they most fit for expressing briefly the first conceits of the mind, or *Intentionalia*, as they call them in Schools ; so that we can set down more matter in fewer

In Cata-
lectis.

lines than any other language.¹ Neither do we or the Welsh so curtaile the Latine, that we make all therein Monosyllables, as Joseph Scaliger chargeth us ; who in the mean time forgetteth that his Frenchmen have put in their proviso in the Ediēt of Pacification in the Grammatical war, that they might not pronounce Latine distinctly, and the Irish not to observe quantity of syllables. I cannot yet but confesse that we have corruptly contracted most names, both of men and places, if they were of more than two syllables, and thereby hath ensued no little obscurity.

In Mithri-
date.

Whereas our tongue is mixed it is no disgrace, when as all the tongues of Europe do participate interchangeably the one of the other, and in the learned tongues there hath been like borrowing one from another ; as the present French is composed of Latine, German, and the old Gallique ; the Italian, of Latine and German-Gotish ; and the Spanish, of Latine, Gotish-German, and Arabique, or Morisquo. Yet it is false, which Gesner affirmeth, that our tongue is the most mixt and corrupt of all other : for if it may please any to compare but the Lords Prayer in other languages, he shall find as few Latine and borrowed forreign words in ours as in any other whatsoever ; notwithstanding the diversity of Nations which have swarmed hither, and the practice of the Normans, who, as a monument of their Conquest, would have yoked the English under their tongue, as

¹ This remark is doubtless applicable to most *modern* languages, but it will hardly apply to the classical tongues, especially the Latin, the terseness of which is unapproached in English. *Ex uno disce*, in the phrase *Clam patre abiit*, THREE words, which it takes NINE English words to render : He went away | without the knowledge of | his father !

they did under their command, by compelling them to teach their children in Schools nothing but French ; by setting down their Laws in the Norman-French, and enforcing them most rigorously to plead and to be impleaded, in that tongue only, for the space of three hundred years, until King Edward the Third enlarged them first from that bondage: since which time our language hath risen by little, and the Proverb proved untrue which so long had been used, "Jack would be a Gentleman if he could speak any *French*."

Herein is a notable Argument of our Ancestors stedfastness in esteeming and retaining their own tongue ; for, as before the Conquest they misliked nothing more in King Edward the Confessor than that he was Frenchified, and accounted the desire of forreign language then to be a foretoken of the bringing in of forreign powers, which indeed happened ; in like manner, after the Conquest, notwithstanding those enforcements of the Normans in supplanting it, and the nature of men which is most pliable, with a curious jollity to fashion and frame themselves according to the manners, attire, and language of the Conquerours ; yet, in all that long space of 300 years they intermingled very few French-Norman words, except some terms of law, hunting, hawking, and dicing ; when as we within these 60 years have incorporated so many Latine and French, as the third part of our tongue consisteth now in them. But like themselves continue still those old Englishmen which were planted in Ireland, in Fingal, and the Countrey of Weysford,¹ in the time of King Henry the 2, who yet still continue their ancient attire and tongue, infomuch

¹ Wexford.

that an English gentleman, not long since sent thither in Commission among them, said that he would quickly understand the Irish when they spake the ancient English. So that our ancestors seemed in part as jealous of their native language as those Britains which passed hence into Armorica in France, and marrying strange women there, did cut out their tongues, lest their children should corrupt their language with their mother's tongue ; or as the Germans, which have most of all Nations opposed themselves against all innovations in habit and language.

Whereas the Hebrew Rabbines say, and that truly, that Nature hath given man five instruments for the pronouncing of all letters—the lips, the teeth, the tongue, the palate, and the throat, I will not deny but some among us do pronounce more fully, some flatly, some broadly, and no few mincingly (offending in defect, excess or change of letters), which is rather to be imputed to the persons and their education than to the language: when as generally we pronounce, by the confession of strangers, as sweetly, smoothly, and moderately as any of the Northern Nations of the world, who are noted to soupe their words out of the throat with fat and full spirits.

This variety of pronunciation hath brought in some diversity of Orthography, and hereupon Sir John Price, to the derogation of our tongue and glory of his Welsh, reporteth that a sentence spoken by him in English, and penned out of his mouth by four good Secretaries severally, for trial of our Orthography, was so set down by them that they all differed one from the other in many letters ; whereas so many Welsh, writing the same likewise in their tongue, varied not in any one letter at all.

Well, I will not derogate from the good Knight's credit ; yet it hath been seen where ten English, writing the same sentence, have all so concurred, that among them all there hath been no other difference than the adding, or omitting once or twice, of our silent *E* in the end of some words. As for the Welsh, I could never happen on two of that Nation together that would acknowledge that they could write their own language.

Sir Thomas Smith, her Majesties Secretary not long since, a man of great learning and judgment, occasioned by some uncertainty of our Orthography, though it seem grounded upon sound Reason and Custome, laboured to reduce it to certain heads. Seeing that whereas of Necessity there must be so many letters in every tongue as there are simple and single sounds, that the Latine letters were not sufficient to express all our simple sounds ; therefore he wished that we should have *A* short and *A* long, because *a* in *Man*, and in *Mân* of horse, hath different sounds ; *E* long, as in *Mên*, moderate ; and *e* short, as in *Men*, and an English *e*, as in *wee*, *thee*, *be*, *me* ; *I* long and *I* short, as in *Bi*, *per*, and *Bi*, *emere* ; *O* short and *O* long, as in smoke of a woman, and smoke of the fire ; *V* long, as in *But*, *Ocrea*, and *V* short, as in *But*, *Sed* ; and *v* for *y* Greek, as *flu*, *nu*, *tru*. For consonants he would have *C* be never used but for *Ch*, as it was among the old English, and *K* in all other words ; for *Th* he would have the Saxon letter *Thorne*, which was a *D* with a dash through the head, or *þ* ; for *I* consonant the Saxon *ȝ*, as *ȝet*, not *Jeat*, for *leat-stone*, *ȝay* for *jay* ; *Q*. if he were King of the *A*, *B*, *C*, should be put to the horn and banished, and *Ku* in his place, as *Kuik* not *quick*, *Kuarel* not *Quarel* ; *Z* he would have used for the softer

S, or eth, or es, as *diz* for dieth, *ltz* for lies, and the same S inverted for *sh*, as *Sal* for *shall*, *fles* for *flesh*. Thus briefly I have set you down his device, which albeit Sound and Reason seemed to countenance, yet that Tyrant Custome hath so confronted that it will never be admitted.

If it be any glory, which the French and Dutch do brag of, that many words in their tongues do not differ from the Greek, I can shew you as many in the English; whereof I will give you a few for a taste, as they have offered themselves in reading; but withal, I trust you will not gather by consequence that we are descended from the Grecians. Who doth not see identity in these words, as if the one descended from the other?

Καλῆν, to call.
 Πάτος, a path.
 Λάπτω, to lap.
 ῥάνις, rain.
 ῥαπίζειν, to rap.
 Λοῖσθος, last.
 Ζέω, to seeth.
 Θρασύς, rash.
 Νέος, new.
 Γράστις, grass.
 Ὀρχατος, an orchard.
 Κρεκω, to creak.
 Ἄστυρ, a star.
 Ὀλος, whole.
 Φαῦλος, foul.
 Ἐήρ, a deer.
 ῥάβδος, a rod.
 ῥαστάνη, rest.
 Μῆνη, the moon.
 Μύλη, a mill.
 Τίτθος, a teat.
 Σκάφη, a ship.
 Στρόφος, a rope.
 Καλπάζειν, to gallop.
 Ἄχος, ache.

'Ράχος, a rag.
 Κλίμαξ, a climbing.
 Οὔθηρ, an udder.
 'Οαρὶ, whorish sport.
 Κῦσα, to kifs.
 'Αγχεσθαι, to hang.
 'Ερα, earth.
 Κάραβος, a crab.
 Φῶλος, a phoal.
 Λύχος, a link.
 Κόπτω, to cut.
 'Ραίειν, to raze out.
 'Οχρα, oker.
 Μωκάειν, to mock.
 'Ελάσσειν, lefs.
 'Αξίειν, an axe.
 Σωπτείν, to scoff.
 Στρανίμμι, to strow.
 Χάρμην, a skirmish.
 Κυριακή, a Church.
 Ποτήριον, a pot.
 Μυστάχες, Mustaches.
 Θύρα, a door.
 'Ολκός, a hulk.
 Κακάν, to you know what.

With many more, if a man could be at leifure to gather them with Budæus, Baifius, Junius, Pichardus, and others.¹

Hereby may be seen the original of some English words, and that the Etymology or reason whence many other are derived, beside them already specified, may as well be found in our tongue as in the learned Tongues, though with some difficulty ; for that herein, as in other tongues, the truth lieth hidden and is not easily found, as both Varro and Isidore do acknowledg. But an indifferent man may judge that our name of the most divine power,

¹ Add Gala-day, a holiday, from γαλα, milk. See Juncate or Junketings, where milk is a principal ingredient.

God, is better derived from Good, the chief attribute of God, than *Deus* from *Θεός*, because God is to be feared. So Winter from Wind, Summer from the Sun, Lent from springing, because it falleth in the Spring; for which our Progenitours the Germans use *Glent*. The Feast of Christ's Rising, Easter, from the old word East, which we now use for the place of the rising of the Sun; Sayl, as the Sea-hail; Windor or Window, as a door against the Wind; King, from Coning, for so our Great-grandfathers called them, which one word implyeth two most important matters in a Governour, Power and Skill; and many other, better answering in sound and sence than those of the Latines: *Frater quasi fere alter*; *Tempestas quasi Tempus pestis*; *Caput à capiendo*; *Digiti quia decenter juncti*; *Cura quia cor urit*; *Peccare quasi pedam capere*.

Dionysius, a Greek coynor of Etymologies, is commended by Athenæus, in his supper-guls, table-talkers, or *Deipnosophistæ*, for making mouse-traps of *Musteria*; and verily, if that be commendable, the Mint-masters of our Etymologies deserve no less commendation, for they have merrily forged Mony, for My-hony: flatter, from flie at her; Shovell from shove-full; Mayd, as my ayd; Mastief, a Male-thief; Staff, as Stay of; Beer, Be here; Si mony, See-mony; Stirrup, a Stayr-up, &c.

This merry playing with words, too much used by some, hath occasioned a great and high perage to say, that as the Italian tongue is fit courting, the Spanish for treating; the French traffick, so the English is most fit for trifling toying. And so doth Giraldus Cambrensis see think, when as in his time he saith, the English Welsh delighted much in licking the letter

clapping together of Agnominations. But now will I conclude this trifling discourse with a true tale out of an antient Historian.

Of the effectual power of words, great disputes have been of great wits in all Ages: the Pythagoreans extolled it; the impious Jews ascribed all miracles to a name which was ingraven in the revestuary of the Temple, watched by two brazen dogs, which one stole away and enfeamed it in his thigh, as you may read in Oforius de Sapientia, and the like in Rabbi Hamas Speculation; and strange it is what Samonicus Serenus ascribed to the word *Abradacarba*, against Agues. But there was one true English word, of as great if not greater force than them all, now out of all use, and will be thought for sound barbarous, but therefore of more efficacy (as it pleaseth Porphyrie); and in signification it signifieth, as it seemeth, no more than abject, base-minded, false-hearted, coward or nidget. Yet it hath levied Armies and subdued rebellious enemies; and that I may hold you no longer, it is Niding: For when there was a dangerous rebellion against King William Rufus, and Rochester Castle, then the most important and strongest Fort of this Realm was stoutly kept against him, after that he had but proclaimed that his subjects should repair thither to his Camp, upon no other penalty, but that whosoever refused to come should be reputed a Niding, they swarmed to him immediately from all sides in such numbers that he had in a few days an infinite Army, and the Rebels therewith were so terrified that they forthwith yielded. But while I run on in this course of our English tongue, rather respecting matter than words, I forget that I may be charged by the minion refiners of English neither to write State

Vide
Gloss. W.
Watts in
Matth.
Paris.

William
Malmesbury.

Niding.

English, Court English, nor Secretary English, and verily I acknowledge it. Sufficient it is for me if I have waded hitherto in the fourth kind, which is plain English, leaving to such as are compleat in all to supply whatsoever remaineth.

THE EXCELLENCY OF THE ENGLISH TONGUE,
BY R. C.¹ OF ANTHONY ESQUIRE TO W. C.

IT were most fitting (in respect of discretion) that men should first weigh matters with judgment, and then encline their affection where the greatest reason fwayeth. But ordinarily it falleth out to the contrary; for either by custom we first settle our affection, and then afterward draw in those arguments to approve it, which should have foregone, to perswade our selves. This preposterous course, seeing antiquity from our elders and universality of our neighbours do entitle with a right, I hold my self the more freely warranted *delirare*, not only *cum vulgo* but also *cum sapientibus*, in seeking out with what commendations I may attire our English language, as Stephanus had done for the French, and divers others for theirs.

Four
points re-
quisite in a
language.

Locutio is defined, *Animi sensus per vocem expressio*, On which ground I build these consequences: That the first and principal point sought in every language is that we may expresse the meaning of our minds aptly each to other. Next,

¹ Richard Carew, the well-known author of the "Survey of Cornwall," born 1555, died 1620.

that we may do it readily without great ado ; then fully, so as others may thoroughly conceive us ; and, last of all, handsomly, that those to whom we speak may take pleasure in hearing us, so as whatsoever tongue will gain the race of perfection, must run on these four wheels—Significancy, Easiness, Copiousness and Sweetness, of which the two foremost import a necessity, the two latter a delight. Now if I can prove that our English language, for all, or the most, is matchable, if not preferable before any other in use at this day, I hope the assent of any impartial Reader will pass on my side ; And how I endeavour to perform the same this short labour shall manifest.

To begin then with the Significancy: it consisteth in the letters, words and phrases ; and because the Greek and Latine have ever born away the pre-rogative from all other tongues, they shall serve as touch-stones to make our trial by.

Signifi-
cancy.

For letters, we have K more than the Greeks ; K and Y more than the Latines, and W more than them both, or the French and Italian.

Letters.

In those common to them and us, we have the use of the Greek B in our V, of our B they have none ; so have we of their Δ and Θ in our Th, which in *that* and *things* expresseth both ; but of our D they have none. Likewise their Y we turn to another use in *yield*, than they can ; and as for E, G and I, neither Greeks nor Latines can make profit of them as we do in these words, Each, Edge, Joy. True it is that we, in pronouncing the Latine, use them also after this manner ; but the same in regard of the antient and right Roman delivery altogether abusively, as may appear by Scaliger, Sir Thomas Smith, Lipsius and others.

Now for the significancy of words, as every *In-*

Words.

dividuum is but one, so in our Native English Saxon language, we find many of them suitably expressed by words of one syllable: those consisting of more are borrowed from other Nations; the examples are infinite, and therefore I will omit them as sufficiently notorious.

Interjec-
tions.

Again, for expressing our passions, our interjections are very apt and forcible; as, finding ourselves somewhat aggrieved, we cry, Ah; if more deeply, Oh; when we pity, Alas; when we bemoan, Alack; neither of them so effeminate as the Italian *Doh*, or the French *Helas*. In detestation we say Phy, as if therewithall we should spit; In attention, Haa; in calling Whoup; in hallowing Wahahow; all which (in my ear) seem to be derived from the very natures of those several affections.

Composi-
tion of
words.

Go we from hence to the composition of words, and therein our language hath a peculiar grace, a like significancy, and more short than the Greeks; for example, in Moldwarp we express the nature of that beast; in handkercher, the thing and his use; in upright, that vertue by a Metaphor; in Wisdom and Domes-day, so many sentences as words; and so of the rest, for I give only a taste that may direct others to a fuller observation of what my sudden memory cannot represent unto me. It may pass also the masters of this significancy, that in a manner all the proper names of our people do import somewhat, which from a peculiar note at first of some one of the Progenitours in process of time invested it self in a possession of the posterity, even as we see like often befall to those whose fathers bare some uncouth Christian names. Yet for the most part we avoid the blemish given by the Romans, in like cases, who distinguished the persons

Names.

by the imperfections in their bodies,¹ from whence grew their Nafones, Labeones, Frontones, Dentones, and such like, how ever Macrobius coloureth the same. Yea so significant are our words, that among them fundry single ones serve to expresse divers things, as by Bill is meant weapon, a scroll, and a bird's beak ; by Grave, sober, a tomb, and to carve ; and by Light, mark, match, file, fore, and pray, the semblable.

Æqui-
voca.

Again, some sentences, in the same words carry a divers sence, as, till desert ground : some signifie one thing forward, and another backward, as Feeler I was no fo, Of on saw I releef. Some signifie one self thing forward and backward, as Ded deemed, I ioi, reviver, and this, Eye did Madam Erre ; Some carry a contrary sence backward to that they did forward, as I did level ere veu, veu ere level did I.

Some deliver a contrary sence by the divers pointing as the "Epistle in Doctour Wilson's Rhetorick," and many such like, which a curious head, leasure and time might pick out.

Neither may I omit the significancy of our Proverbs, concise in words, but plentiful in number ; briefly pointing to many great matters, and under the circuit of a few syllables prescribing fundry available caveats.

Pro-
verbs.

Lastly, our speech doth not consist only of words, but in a sort even of deeds, as when we expresse a matter by Metaphors, wherein the English is very fruitful and forcible.

Meta-
phors.

¹ I think Master Carew is not happy in this remark. It would be easy to produce a considerable catalogue of English family names derived from personal deformities. Let Cruikshank, Longshank, Greathead, Longhead, Crump (crooked), Camoys, (snub-nosed), Heavyside, and Heavybeard suffice.

And so much for the significancy of our Language in meaning.

Easiness
to be
learned.

Now for his easiness in learning, the same shooteth out into branches. The one of others learning our language; the second of our learning that of others. For the first, the most part of our words (as I have touched) are Monosyllables, and so the fewer in tale, and the sooner reduced to memory, neither are we loaden with those declensions, flexions and variations, which are incident to many other Tongues, but a few Articles govern all our Verbs and Nouns, and so we read a very short Grammar.

To learn
others.

For easie learning of other Languages by ours, let these serve as proofs: there are many Italian words which the French men cannot pronounce; as *accio*, for which he saith *Ashio*; many of the French which the Italian can hardly come away withall; as *Bayller chagzni Postillon*; many in ours which neither of them can utter, as Hedge, Water. So that a stranger, though never so long conversant amongst us, carrieth evermore a watchword upon his tongue to descry him by; but turn an Englishman at any time of his age into what Countrey soever, allowing him due respite, and you shall see him profit so well, that the imitation of his utterance will in nothing differ from the pattern of that Native Language. The want of which towardness cost the Ephraimites their skins; neither doth this crosse my former assertion of other easie learning our Language. For I mean of the sence and words, and not touching the pronounciation.

Copious-
ness.

But I must now enter into the large field of our tongues copiousness, and perhaps long wander up and down without finding easie way of Issue, and yet leave many parts thereof unsurveyed.

Borrow-
ing.

My first proof of our plenty I borrow from the

choice which is given us by the use of divers Languages. The ground of our own appertaineth to the old Saxon, little differing from the present Low Dutch, because they more than any of their neighbours have hitherto preserved that speech from any great forreign mixture; here amongst, the Brittaines have left divers of their words interflowed, as it were, thereby making a continual claim to their ancient possession. We may also trace the footsteps of the Danish bitter (though not long during) soverainty in these parts, and the Roman also imparted unto us of his Latine riches with no sparing hand. Our Neighbours the French have been likewise contented we should take up by retail as well their terms as their fashions: or rather we retain yet but some remnant of that which once here bare all the sway, and daily renew the store. So have our Italian travellers brought us acquainted with their sweet relished phrases, which (so their conditions crept not in withall) were the better tolerable, yea, even we seek to make our good of our late Spanish enemy, and fear as little the hurt of his tongue, as the dint of his sword. Seeing then we borrow (and that not shamefully) from the Dutch, the Britain, the Roman, the Dane, the French, the Italian, and Spaniard; how can our stock be other than exceeding plentiful? It may be objected that such patching maketh Littleton's hotch-pot of our tongue, and in effect brings the same rather to a Babelish confusion than any one entire language.

It may again be answered, that this theft of words is no less warranted by the privilege of a prescription, antient and universal, than was that of goods among the Lacedemonians by an enacted Law; for so the Greeks robbed the Hebrews, the

Answer.

Latines the Greeks (which filching Cicero with a large discourse in his Book "de Oratore" defendeth) and (in a manner) all other Christian Nations the Latine. For evidence hereof, many sentences may be produced consisting of words, that in their original are Latine, and yet (have some small variance in their terminations) fall out all one with the French, Dutch, and English, as Ley, Ceremonious persons, offer prelate preeft, cleer Candels flamme, in Temples Cloistre, in Cholerick Temperature, Clifters, purgation is pestilent, pulers preservative, subtill factors, advocates, Notaries, practize, Papers, libels, Registers, Regents, Majesty in Palace hath triumphant Throne, Regiments, Scepter, Vassals, Supplication, and such like. Then even as the Italian Potentates of these days make no difference in their Pedegrees and Successions between the bed lawful or unlawful, where either an utter wart or a better desert doth force or entice them thereunto, so may the consenting practice of these Nations, pass for a just Legitimation of these bastard words, which either necessity or conveniency hath induced them to adopt.

For our own parts we employ the borrowed ware so far to our advantage, that we raise a profit of new words from the same stock, which yet in their own Countrey are not merchantable. For example, we deduce divers words from the Latine which in the Latine it self cannot be yielded; as the Verbs, to air, to beard, to cros, to flame, and their derivations, airing, aired, bearder, bearding, bearded, &c., as also clofer, closely, closeness, glosingly, hourly, majesticall, majestically. In like sort we graff upon French words those buds to which that soil affordeth no growth, as chiefly, faulty, slavish, preciseness. Divers words also we

Words
one in
divers lan-
guages.

Increase
on bor-
rowing.

Of Latin.

The
French.

derive out of the Latine, at second hand by the French, and make good English, though both Latine and French have their hands closed in that behalf, as in these Verbs : Pray, Point, Paze, Preft, Rent, &c. and also in the Adverbs : Carpingly, Currantly, Actively, Colourably, &c. Again, in other Languages there fall out defects, while they want means to deliver that which another Tongue expreffeth, as (by Cicero's obfervation) you cannot interpret *Ineptus*, unapt, unfit, untoward, in Greek. Neither *Porcus*, *Capo*, *Vervex*, a Barrow Hog, a Capon, a Weather, as Cuiacius noteth, ad Tit. de verb. signif. No more can you exprefs to Stand in French, to Tye in Cornish, nor Knave in Latine, for Nebulo is a clowdy fellow, or in Irish ; whereas you fee our ability extendeth thereunto.

Defects
of other
tongues.

Moreover the copiousness of our Language appeareth in the diversity of our Dialects, for we have Court and we have Countrey English, we have Northern and Southern, gross and ordinary, which differ each from other, not only in the terminations, but also in many words, terms, and phrases, and exprefs the same thing in divers sorts, yet all write English alike ; neither can any tongue (as I am persuaded) deliver a matter with more variety than ours, both plainly, and by Proverbs and Metaphors ; for example, when we would be rid of one, we use to say, " Be going, trudge, pack, be faring, hence away, shift ; " and by circumlocution, " Rather your room than your company, let's see your back, come again when I bid you, when you are called, sent for, entreated, willed, desired, invited, spare us your place, another in your stead, a ship of Salt for you, save your credit, you are next the door, the door is open for you, there is no body holdeth you, no body tears your sleeve," &c. Likewise this word

Fortis we may synonymize after all these fashions, —stout, hardy, valiant, doughty, courageous, adventurous, &c.

All sorts
of verses.

And, in a word, to close up these proofs of our copiousness, look into our limitations of all sorts of verses afforded by any other language, and you shall find that Sir Philip Sidney, Master Puttenham, Master Stanihurst, and divers more have made use how far we are within compass of a fore-imagined possibility in that behalf.

Sweetness.

Compared
with
others.

I come now to the last and sweetest point of the sweetness of our tongue, which shall appear the more plainly, if like two Turkeyses or the London Drapers we match it with our neighbours. The Italian is pleasant, but without sinews, as a still fleeting water. The French, delicate, but even nice as a woman, scarce daring to open her lips for fear of marring her countenance. The Spanish, majestic, but fulsome, running too much on the O, and terrible like the devil in a play. The Dutch, manlike, but withal very harsh, as one ready at every word to pick a quarrel. Now we, in borrowing from them, give the strength of consonants to the Italian, the full sound of words to the French, the variety of terminations to the Spanish, and the mollifying of more vowels to the Dutch, and so (like Bees) gather the honey of their good properties and leave the dregs to themselves. And thus when substantialness combineth with delightfulness, fulness with fineness, seemliness with portliness, and currantness with stayedness, how can the language which consisteth of all these sound other than most full of sweetness?

Mixture.

Again, the long words that we borrow, being intermingled with the short of our own store, make up a perfect harmony; by culling from out

which mixture (with judgment) you may frame your speech according to the matter you must work on, majesticall, pleasant, delicate, or manly, more or less, in what sort you please. Adde hereunto, that whatsoever grace any other language carrieth in verse or prose, in Tropes or Metaphors, in Ecchoes and Agnominations, they may all be lively and exactly represented in ours. Will you have Plato's vein? read Sir Tho. Smith; the Ionick? Sir Thomas Moor; Cicero's? Afcham; Varro? Chaucer; Demosthenes? Sir John Cheek (who, in his treatise to the Rebels, hath comprised all the figures of Rhetorick). Will you read Virgil? take the Earl of Surrey; Catullus? Shakesphear and Barlow's fragment; Ovid? Daniel; Lucan? Spencer; Martial? Sir John Davies, and others: will you have all in all for prose and verse? take the miracle of our age, Sir Philip Sydney.

And thus, if mine own eyes be not blinded by affection, I have made yours to see that the most renowned of other Nations have layed up, as in treasure, and entrusted the *Divisos orbe Britannos* with the rarest jewels of their lips perfections, whether you respect the understanding for significancy, or the memory for easiness, or the conceit for plentifulness, or the ear for pleasantness: wherein if enough be delivered, to adde more than enough were superfluous; if too little, I leave it to be supplied by better stored capacities; if ought amiss, I submit the same to the discipline of every able and impartial censurer.

CHRISTIAN NAMES.

NAMES, called in Latine "Nomina quasi Notamina," were first imposed for the distinction of persons, which we call now Christian names ; After, for difference of families, which we call Surnames, and have been especially respected, as whereon the glory and credit of men is grounded, and by which the same is conveyed to the knowledge of posterity.

Every person had in the beginning one only proper name, as among the Jews, Adam, Joseph, Salomon ; among the Ægyptians, Anubis, Amasis, Busiris ; among the Chaldæans, Ninus, Ninias, Semiramis ; among the Medians, Astyages, Bardanes, Arbaces ; among the Grecians, Diomedes, Ulysses, Orestes ; among the Romans, Romulus, Remus, Faustulus ; among the old Gauls, Litavicus, Cavarillus, Divitiacus ; among the Germans, Ariovestus, Arminius, Nassua ; among the Britains, Cassibelan, Caratan, Calgac ; among the ancient English, Hengest, Ælla, Kenric : likewise all other Nations, except the savages of Mount Atlas in Barbary, which were reported to be both nameless and dreamless.

The most ancient Nation of the Jews gave the name at the Circumcision, the eighth day after the nativity ; the Romans to females the same day, to males the 9. day, which they called "Dies lustricus," as it were the cleansing day ; upon which day they solemnized a feast called "Nominulus," and as Tertullian noteth, "Fata scribenda vocabantur," that is, as I conceive, their nativity was set. And it was enacted by the Emperour Anto-

Varro.
Julius.
Paris.
Virgilius.

Plinius
Marcellin.

De anim.

Capito-
linus.

nius Philosophus that all should enter their childrens names on record, before Officers thereunto appointed. At what time other Nations in ancient times gave names I have not read ; but since Christianity, most Nations for the time followed the Jews, celebrating baptism the eighth day after the birth ; only our Ancestours in this Realm until latter time baptised, and gave names the very birth day, or next day after, following therein the counsel of S. Cyprian, in his 3 Epistle *Ad Fidum*. But the Polonians gave name in the seventh year, at which time they did first cut their childrens hair.

Mart.
Cromerm.

The first imposition of Names was grounded upon so many occasions as were hard to be specified, but the most common in most ancient times among all Nations, as well as the Hebrews, was upon future good hope conceived by parents of their children, in which you might see their first and principal wishes toward them. Whereupon S. Hierom saith,—“*Votiva et quasi obvirtutis auspiciū imponuntur vocabula hominibus et appellativa vertuntur in propria, sicut apud Latinos, Victor, Probus, Castus,*” &c. And such hopeful lucky names, called by Cicero, “*Bona nomina,*” by Tacitus, “*Fausta nomina,*” were ever first enrolled and ranged in the Roman Musters ; first called out to serve at the first sacrifices, in the foundation of Colonies, as Statorius, Faustus, Valerius, which implied the persons to be stout, happy, and valorous. As contrariwise Atrius UMBER is accounted in Livy, “*abominandi ominis nomen,*” an abominable name, for that it participated in signification with dismal darkness, dead ghosts, and shadows. And you remember what Plautus saith of one whose name was Lyco, that is, a greedy wolf.

"Vosmet nunc facite conjecturam cæterum
Quid id fit hominis, cui Lyco nomen fiet."

See Hero-
dot. l. 9,
de Hegefi-
strato.
Trebellius,
Pollio.

Yea, such names were thought so happy and so fortunate, that in the time of Galienus, one Regilianus, which commanded in Illyricum, got the Empire there, only in favour of his name. For when it was demanded at a supper from whence Regilianus was derived, one answered, "*à Regno*," another began to decline "*Rex, Regis, Regi, Regilianus*"; whereat the souldiers (which in all actions are forward) began with acclamation, "*Ergo potest Rex esse, Ergo potest regere, Deus tibi regis nomen imposuit*;" and so invested him with imperial robes. In this Isle, also at Silcester in Hampshire, Constantinus, a military man of some reputation, in hope of his lucky name, and that he would prove another Constantinus Magnus, to the good of the people, was by the Britain Army proclaimed Emperour against Honorius; who exploited great matters in his own person in Gallia, and by his son in Spain. So in former times the name of Antonius, in remembrance of Antonius Pius, was so amiable among the Romans, as he was supposed unfit for the Empire, who bare not that name until Antonius Elagabalus, with his filthy vices, distained the same. We read also that two Ambassadors were sent out of France into Spain, to King Alphonse the ninth, to demand one of the daughters that he begat of the daughter of King Henry the second of England, to be married to their Sovereign King Lewes the eighth: one of these Ladies was very beautiful, called Urraca; the other not so beautiful, but named Blanche. When they were presented to the Ambassadors, all men held it as a matter resolved that the choice would

Lambridiu.

light upon Urraca, as the elder and fairer : But the Ambassadors enquiring each of their names, took offence at Urraca, and made choice of the Lady Blanche, saying, That her name would be better received in France than the other, as signifying fair and beautiful, according to the verse made to her honour.

“Candida, candescens candore, & cordis & oris.”

So that the greatest Philosopher, Plato, might seem, not without cause, to advise men to be careful in giving fair and happy names ; as the Pythagoreans affirmed the minds, actions, and successes of men to be according to their Fate, Genius, and Name. One also well observeth that these seven things, Vertue, good Parentage, Wealth, Dignity or Office, good Presence, a good Christian name, with a gracious Surname, and seemly Attire, do especially grace and adorn a man. And accordingly saith Panormitan, “Ex bono nomine oritur bona præsumptio.” As the common Proverb, “Bonum nomen, bonum omen.”

For which respect the ancients were not a little studious in giving such names to their Children, as a learned Spaniard* hath well observed, “La Custome des anciens estoit (saith he) de bailler voluntiers a leurs Infans, des noms ou surnoms bien sounans, estimans que cela leur accquerroit grace envers les hommes, et que un beau nom revenoit a la personne quelque marque ou impression, conformé a ce que par icelui estoit signifié.”

The devil, nevertheless, who always maligneth God and goodness, wrought by cruelty of Valens the Emperour, the destruction of many men of worth, who had happy names beginning with Theo, signifying God, as Theodorus, Theodulus, Theo-

* Hist. de
Espagne
per Leys de
Mayerne
Turquet,
p. 286.

Amm.
Marcel.
lib. 29.

doretus, Theodosius, &c. For that divers curious companions¹ had found, by the falling of a ring, magically prepared, upon those letters only of all the Alphabet, graven in a charger of sundry metals and set upon a Laurel trivet, that one who had his name beginning with Theod, should succeed in the Empire: Which was verified in Theodosius not long after.

In times of Christianity the names of most holy and vertuous persons, and of their most worthy progenitours, were given to stir up men to the imitation of them whose names they bare. But succeeding ages (little regarding S. Chrysofome's admonition to the contrary) have recalled prophane names, so as now Diana, Cassandra, Hyppolytus, Venus, Lais, names of unhappy disaster are as rife somewhere, as ever they were in Paganism.² Albeit in our late reformation, some of good consideration have brought in Zachary, Malachy, Josias, &c. as better agreeing with our faith, but without contempt of countrey names (as I hope), which have both good and gracious significations, as shall appear hereafter.

Whereas in late years Surnames have been given for Christian names among us, and no where else in Christendome; although many dislike it, for that great inconvenience will ensue, nevertheless it seem-

¹ *Companion*, a word much used by dramatists and others in Camden's time precisely in the sense of our modern "fellow."

² Neither Chrysofom nor Camden seems to be much regarded in this centre of un-Christian names, for Hercules, Diana, Delia, &c. are still imposed on children in the upper circles of life. With equally bad taste the poor very often give their offspring names with the worst possible associations; I have known, for example, an Esau, a couple of Absaloms, an Ananias, and several Dinahs.

eth to proceed from hearty good will, and affection of the Godfathers to shew their love, or from a desire to continue and propagate their own names to succeeding ages. And is in no wise to be disliked, but rather approved in those which, matching with heirs general of worshipful ancient families, have given those names to their heirs, with a mindful and thankful regard of them ; as we have now, Pickering, Worton, Grevil, Varney, Bassingburne Gawdy, Calthorp, Parker, Pecsal, Brocas, Fitz-Raulf, Chamberlain, who are the heirs of Pickering, Bassingburne, Grevil, Calthorp, &c. For beside the continuation of the name, we see that the self-name, yea, and sometime the similitude of names, doth kindle sparkles of love and liking among meer strangers.

Neither can I believe a wayward old man, which would say that the giving of Surnames for Christian names first began in the time of King Edward the Sixth, by such as would be Godfathers when they were more than half fathers, and thereupon would have perswaded some to change such names at the Confirmation. Which (that I may note by the way) is usual in other Countreys, as we remember two sons of King Henry the second of France, christened by the names of Alexander and Hercules, changed them at their Confirmation into Henry and Francis.

But two Christian names are rare in England ; and I only remember now his Majesty, who was named Charles James, as the Prince his son Henry Frederic ; and among private men, Thomas Maria Wingfield, and Sir Thomas Posthumus Hobby.¹

¹ See much on early double names in *Notes and Queries*, various volumes.

Although it is common in Italy to adjoyn the name of some Saint, in a kind of devotion, to the Christian name, as Johannes Baptista Spinula, Johannes Franciscus Borhomeus, Marcus Antonius Flaminus; and in Spain to adde the name of the Saint on whose day the child was born.

If that any among us have named their children Remedium amoris, Imago sæculi, or with such like names, I know some will think it more than a vanity; as they do but little better of the new names Free-gift, Reformation, Earth, Dust, Affes, Delivery, More fruit, Tribulation, The Lord is near, More trial, Discipline, Joy again, From above, Acceptance, Thankful, Praise-God, Love-God, and Live-well;¹ which have lately been given by some to their children with no evil meaning, but upon some singular and precise conceit. That I may omit another more vain absurdity, in giving names and surnames of men, yea, and of the best Families, to dogs, bears, and horses: When, as we read, it was thought a capital crime in Pomposianus for calling his base bond-slaves by the name of grand Captains. Here I might remember how some mislike the giving of Parents names successively to their heirs; for that if they should be forced to prove descent, it would be hard to prove the Donor and the Donee in Formedon, and to distinguish the one from the other.

It were impertinent to note here, that destinies were superstitiously by Onomantia deciphered out of names; as though the names and natures of men were suitable, and fatal necessity concurred herein

Suetonius
in Domit.
ca. 10.

See Demosthenes
contra
Boetium,
de
Nimine.

¹ See on this subject my *English Surnames*, vol. i. p. 229, *et seq.* I had an ancestor named "Called Lower."

with voluntary motion in giving the name, according to that of Aufonius to Probus :

Qualem creavit moribus,
Jussit vocari nomine,
Mundi supremus arbiter.

And after, where he playeth with bibbing mother Meroë, as though she were so named, because she would not drink mere wine without water, or, as he pleasantly calleth it, Merum Merum ; for, as he saith :

Qui primus Meroë nomen tibi condidit, ille
Thesidæ nomen condidit Hippolyto.
Nam divinare est, nomen componere, quoddam sit
Fortunæ, morum, vel necis indicium.

For Hyppolytus, the son of Theseus, was torn in pieces by his coach-horses according to his name. So Agamemnon signified he should linger long before Troy ; Priamus, that he should be redeemed out of bondage in his childhood ; Tantalus, that he should be most wretched, because *Αγαν μένων* in the one, and *Πριάμενος* in the other, and *Ταλάντατος* in the third implieth such accidents unto them. Hither also may be referred that of Claudius Rutilius :

Nominibus certis credam decurrere mores ?
Moribus aut potius nomina certa dari.

But to confront Poet with Poet, our good Epigrammatical Poet, old Godfrey of Winchester, thinketh no ominous forespeaking to lie in names, in that to Faustus :

Multum Fauste tua de nobilitate superbis,
Quodque bono Faustus omine nomen habes,
Sed nullum nomen momenti, si licet omen.

Memorable is that which may be observed out of histories, how that men of the self-same name have begun and ended great States and Empires: as Cyrus, the son of Cambyfes, began the Persian Monarchy; Cyrus, the son of Darius, ruinated the same; Darius, the son of Hiftaspes, restored it; And, again, Darius, the son of Arfamis, utterly overthrew it. Philip, the son of Amyntas, especially enlarged the Kingdome of Macedonia; Philip, the son of Antigonus, wholly lost the same. Augustus was the first established Emperour of Rome; Augustulus the last. Constantinus Magnus, born in this Isle, first began the Empire of Constantinople; Constantinus the last left it to the Turks, and utterly lost the same, &c.

* Suet. in
Cal. Calig.
ca. ult.

The like observation is,* that some names are unfortunate to Princes: As Caius amongst the Romans; John, in France, England, and Scotland; and Henry lately in France. See the table of Christian names.

Pliny 24,
c. 4.

Such like curious observations bred the superstitious kind of Divination called Onomantia, condemned by the last general Council; by which the Pythagoreans judged the even number of vowels in names to signify imperfections in the left sides of men, and the odde number in the right. By this Augustus the Emperour encouraged himself, and conceived good hope of victory; when, as the night before the sea-battel at Actium, the first man he met was a poor way-faring man driving his ass before him, whose name when he demanded he answered Eutyches, that is, Happy man; and that his asses name was Nikon, that is, Victor. In which place, when he accordingly had obtained the victory, he builded the City Nicopolis, that is, The city of victory, and there erected brasen images of

Glicas in
hisor.

Cæ. Chodiginus,
l. 23,
c. 35.

the man and his afs. By this Theodatus, King of the Goths, when he was curious to know the success of his wars against the Romans, an Onomantical, or Name-wizard Jew willed him to shut up a number of swine in little hog-sties, and to give some of them Roman names, to other Gotish¹ names, with several marks, and there to leave them to a certain day. At the day appointed the King with the Jew repaired to the hog-sties, where they found them only dead to whom they had given the Gotish names, and those alive to whom they had given the Roman names, but yet with their bristles more than half shed. Whereupon the Jew foretold that the Goths should wholly be discomfited, and the Romans should lose a great part of their forces. By this Vespasian was encouraged to take upon him the Empire, when coming to the Temple of Serapis at Alexandria, and being there alone at his devotion, he suddenly saw in a vision one Basilides, a Noble man of Ægypt, who was then fourscore miles off. Upon which name of Basilides derived from Basileus signifying a King, he assured himself of royalty, and the Empire which he then plotted for. As concerning this Onomantia, a German lately set forth a Table, which I wish had been suppressed, for that the devil by such vanities doth abuse the credulity of youth to greater matters, and sometimes to their own destructions.

I cannot tell how you would like it, if I should but remember how the Greeks superstitiously judged them more happy in whose names the numeral letters added together made the greater sum, and therefore Achilles, forsooth, must needs vanquish Hector, because the numeral Greek letters rose to

Tacitus
4. Hist.

¹ Gothic.

a greater number in his name than in the others. Or how the amorous Romans kissed the Cup with a health so often at their meetings as there were letters in their mistresses names ; according to that of merry Martial of his two wenches, *Nævia*, which had six letters, and *Justina* that had seven in her name.

Nevia sex cyathis, septem Justina bibatur.

Our Nation was far from those and such curious toys ; therefore here will I overpass them, and set down Alphabetically the names which we now call Christian names, most usual to the English Nation, with their significations. For this is to be taken as a granted verity, that names among all Nations and tongues (as I partly noted before) are significative, and not vain senseless sounds. Among the Hebrews it is certain out of sacred Scriptures ; S. Hierom, and Philo, likewise among the Greek, Romans, Germans, French, &c. ; yea, among the barbarous Turks, for with them Mahomet signifieth glorified or laudable, Homer lively, Abdalla God's servant, Seliman peaceable, Agmad good, Haniza ready, Neama pleasant. And the savages of Hispaniola and all America name their children in their own languages, Glistering Light, Sun bright, Gold bright, Fine gold, Sweet, Rich, Feather, &c. ; as they of Congo, by means of birds, precious stones, flowers.

Bell
forrest.

Joseph
Aiofta.

So that it were gross ignorance, and to no small reproach of our Progenitours, to think their names only nothing significative, because that in the daily alteration of our tongue, the signification of them is lost, or not commonly known, which yet I hope to recover, and to make in some part known, albeit they cannot easily and happily be translated, because,

as Porphyrienoteth, Barbarous names (as he termeth them) were very emphatical and very short. But in all the significations of these names you shall see the good and hopeful respects which the devisers of the names had, that there is an Orthotes or certitude of names among all Nations, according to Plato, and thereby perceive that many were translated out of the Greek and Latine. Withal we may make this fruit by consideration of our names, which have good, hopeful, and lucky significations, that accordingly we do carry and conform ourselves; so that we fail not to be answerable to them, but be "*Nostri nominis homines*," and *Φερώνομοι* as Severus, Probus, and Aureolus are called "*Sui nominis imperatores*." And accordingly it seemeth to have been the manner, at giving of names, to wish the children might perform and discharge their names, as when Gunthram, King of the French, named Clotharius at the Font, he said, "*Crescat puer et hujus sit nominis executor*."

Theologia
Phæ-
nicum.

In
Cratvlo.

But before I proceed farther, this is to be noted. In most ancient times the Britains had here their peculiar names, for the most part taken from colours (for they used to paint themselves), which are now lost, or remain among the Welsh. Afterwards they took Roman names when they were Provincials, which either remain corrupted among them, or were extinguished in the greatest part of the Realm after the entrance of the English Saxons, who brought in the German names, as Cridda, Penda, Oswald, Edward, Uchtred, Edmund, &c. Then to say nothing of the Danes, who no doubt brought in their names, as Suayn, Harold, Knute, &c. The Normans conquest brought * in other German names, for they originally used the German tongue, as William, Henry, Richard, Robert, Hugh, Roger,

* Vide
Catum
de Antiq.
Cantab.
Acad. lib.
2, p. 247.
Oden-
dorpheus.

&c. as the Greek names, Ablabius, *i.e.* innocent, Aspafius, *i.e.* Delightful, Boëthius, Symmachus, *i.e.* helper, Toxotius, *i.e.* Archer, &c. were brought into Italy after the division of the Empire. After the Conquest, our Nation (who before would not admit strange and unknown names, but avoyded them therefore as unlucky) by little and little began to use Hebrew and sacred names, as Matthew, David, Sampson, Luke, Simon, &c. which were never received in Germany until after the death of Frederick the 2, about some 300 years since.

So that the Saxons, Danish, Norman, and British tongues are the fittest keys to open the entrance for searching out of our ancient names yet in use. For the Hebrew, I will follow the common tables of the Bible, which every one may do as well, and "*Philo De nominibus mutatis.*" For the Greek, the best Glossaries with mine own little skill. For the Welsh, I will sparingly touch them, or leave them to the learned of that Nation. But for old English names, which here are the scope of my care, I must sift them as I may out of old English Saxon Treatises, as I have hapned upon here and there: and some conjecturally, referring all to the judgement of such as shall be more happy in finding out the truth, hoping that probability may either please or be pardoned by such as are modestly learned in Histories and Languages, to whose judgment in all humility, I commit all that is to be said. For that they cannot but observe the diversity of names from the original in divers Languages; as how the French have changed Petrus into Pierre, Johannes into Jehan, Benedictus to Benoist, Stephanus to Estein,¹

¹ And now still further to Etienne.

Radulphus to Raoul. How the Italians have changed Johannes into Giovanni, Constans into Gostante, Christophorus into Christophano, Jacobus into Jacopo, Radulphus into Radulpho, Laurentius into Lorenz. How the Welsh have altered Joannes into Evan, Ægidius into Silin, George into Sior, Lawrence into Lowris, Constantinus into Custenith. How the English have changed Gerard into Garret, Albric into Aubry, Alexander into Sanders, Constantine into Custance, Benedict into Bennet. How the English and Scottish borderers do use Roby and Rob for Robert, Lokky for Luke, Jokie and Jonie for John, Christie for Christopher, &c. That I may omit the Spaniard, which hath turned John into Juan, and Jacobus into Jago, and Didacus into Diego; as the Germans, which have contracted Johannes into Hanse, and Theodoric into Deric. These and the like whosoever will learnedly consider, will not think any thing strange which shall hereafter follow; howsoever the unlearned will boldly censure it. I had purposed here, lest I might seem hereafter to lay my foundations in the sands of conjecture, and not on grounds of truth and authority, to have given you the signification of such words as offer themselves most frequent in the compositions of our meer English names, *viz.* :

El	Gund	Rod
Al	Hold	Ric
Ælf	Helm	Sig
Ard	Hulph	Stan
Ar	Hare	Theod
Bert	Here	Ward
Bald	Leod	Wald
Cin	Leof	Wold
Cuth	Mer	Wi
Ead	Mund	Will
Fred	Rad	Win, &c.
Gisle	Red	

And these not out of suppositive conjectures, but out of Alfricus Grammar, who was a learned Archbishop of Canterbury, well near fix hundred year since, and therefore not to be supposed ignorant of the English tongue, out of the English-Saxon Testament, Psalter, and Laws, out of Willeramus Paraphrasis upon the Canticles, and the learned Notes thereon by a man skilful in the Northern tongues, as also out of Beatus Rhenanus, M. Luther, Dasipodius, Killianus, who have laboured in illustration of the old German tongue, which undoubtedly is the Matrix and Mother of our English. But I think it most fitting to this purpose to shew those my grounds in their proper places hereafter.

In the Table following,

Gre. noteth the name to be Greek, Germ. German, Lat. Latine. Fre. French, Hebr. Hebrew, Brit. Welsh, Sax. Saxon or old English.

USUAL CHRISTIAN NAMES.¹



ARON, Heb. A Teacher, or Mountain of fortitude.

Abel, Heb. Just.

Adam, Heb. Man, earthly, or red.

Adelrad, see Ethelrad.

Adolph, see Eadulph.

Adrian, see Hadrian.

¹ In editing this chapter it is not my intention to criticize Camden's etymologies very closely. Many of them, and particularly those from the Hebrew and Anglo-Saxon, are pro-

Alan, is thought by Julius Scaliger (some of whose Progenitors bare that name) to signify an hound in the Sclavonian tongue, and Chaucer useth *Alan* in the same sense: neither may it seem strange to take names from beasts. The Romans had their *Caninius*, *Aper*, *Afinius*, &c. and the Christians *Leo*, *Lupus*, *Urfula*. But whereas this came into England with *Alan* Earl of Britain, to whom the Conquerour gave the greatest part of Richmondshire, and hath been most common since that time in the Northern parts, in the younger children of the Noble House of Percies, and the family of Zouch, descended from the Earls of Britain; I would seek it rather out of the British, than Sclavonian tongue, and will believe with an ancient Britain, that it is corrupted from *Ælianus*, that is *Sun-bright*, as they corrupted *Vitelianus* into *Guidalan*.

bably erroneous enough. With regard to Hebrew proper names, so much learned trifling has been exercised, that were I versed in the study of that ancient tongue (which I am not) I should shrink from the task of elucidation. That they were originally significant there is no question, but I doubt whether after the lapse of so many centuries there can be any reasonable origin assigned to many of them. How widely doctors differ is shown in the following instances: *Aaron* means either *mountainous* or a *teacher*; *Abel*, either *just* or *transitory*; *Ananias*, either *the grace of God*, or *Jehovah hath given*; *Thomas*, either a *twin* or an *abyss*! It seems to have been sufficient for the etymologists of old if they could find in the component syllables of a name any approach to recognized verbs, nouns, or adjectives, which they then twisted into some definition that was supposed to be appropriate to the character of him who first bore it. Pretty much the same objection applies to many Celtic and Anglo-Saxon derivations, though, as to the latter, it appears to me that Camden is generally quite as near the truth as those who in our times laugh or cavil at his etymologies.

Ric.

Avery, in Latine Albericus, deduced from the German name Alberic, given in wish, and hope of Royal Power, Empire, Kingdom, wealth, and might, as Plutarchus, Architas, Crates, Craterus, Polycrates, Pancratius, with the Greeks; Regulus, Opimius, &c. with the Latines. The King of the Goths, which sacked Rome, bearing his name, was called by the Romans Allaricus, the old Englishmen turned it into Alric, the Normans into Alberic. That Ric, as it signified a Kingdom, so also it signified rich, wealthy, mighty, able, powerful, attributes to a Kingdom, the word yet remaining in that sense amongst all the German nations dispersed in Europe, and little mollified doth sufficiently prove. The Italians receiving it from the Longobards, have turned it into Ricco, the Spaniards from the Goths into Rico, the French from the Franks into Riche, we from the Saxons into Rich, &c. Fortunatus Venantius, who lived about a thousand years since, translated it by Potens, and Fortis in these Verses to Hilperic, King of France :

Hilperice potens, si interpres barbarus adsit,
Adjutor fortis hoc quoque nomen habet.
Nec fuit in vanum sic te vocitare parentes,
Præfagum hoc totum laudis, & omen erat.

As that Hilperic did signifie puissant and mighty helper. This name is usually written Chilperic, but the C was set before for Coning, that is, King, as in Clotharius, Clodaveus, Cheribertus for Lotharius, Lodoveus, Heribertus. Aubry hath been a most common name in the honourable Family of Vere, Earls of Oxford.

Alban, Lat. White, or High, as it pleaseth others; The name of our Stephen, and first Martyr of Britain.

Alwin, Sax. All victorious, or Winning all, as Victor and Vincentius in Latine, Nicetas and Nicephorus in Greek. The Yorkshireman, which was Scholemaster to Carolus Magnus, and perswaded him to found the University of Paris, is in an English-Saxon Treatise called Alwin. But the French, as it seemeth, not able to pronounce the W, called him Alcuinus and Albinus.

Albert, Germ. All-bright, as Epiphanius, Phædrus, Eudoxus with the Grecians : Lucilius, Illustrius, Fulgentius, with the Latines. Beort and Bert, Bert. as Alfricus and Rhenanus do translate it, is famous, fair, and clear. Which the rather I believe, for that Bertha, a German Lady sent into Greece, was there called Eudoxia in the same sense, as Luitprandus reporteth. They moreover that in ancient books are written Ecbert, Sebert, Ethelbert, in the latter are written Ecbright, Sebright, Ethelbright : So that, Bert in composition of names doth not signifie Beard, as some translate it.

Ælfred, Sax. Allpeace, not varying much in signification from Irenæus, Eal, All, Æl in old English compound names is answerable to Pan and Pam in Greek names, as Pamphilus, Pammachius, Panætius, Pantaleon, &c. Eal. & Al.

Aldred, Sax. All reverent fear.

Alexander, Gre. Succour man, or Helper of men.

Alphons, if it be a German name, and came into Spain with the Goths, a German Nation, it is as much as Helfuns, that is, Our help, and probable it is to be a Gotish name, for Alphons, the first King of Spain of that name, Anno 740, was descended from the Goths.

Amery, in Latine Almaricus, from the German Emerich, that is, always rich, able, and powerful,

according to Luther: the French write it Aumery, as they of Theodoric, Henric, Frederic, make Terry, Henry, Ferry.

Ambrose, Gre. Divine, Immortal.

Amie, from the French *Amie*, that is Beloved, and that from *Amatus*, as *Renè* from *Renatus*. The Earls and Dukes of Savoy which be commonly called *Aimé*, were in Latine called *Amadeus*, that is Loving God, as *Theophilus*: and so was that Earl of Savoy called, which did homage to King Henry the third of England, for *Bourg* in *Bresse*, *Saint Maurice* in *Chablais* *Chasteau Bard*, &c. which I note for the honour of England. We do use now *Amias* for this, in difference from *Amie*, the woman's name. Some deduce *Amias* from *Æmilius* the Roman name, which was deduced from the Greek *Aimulios*, Fair spoken.

Matth.
Paris.

Ananias, Heb. The grace of the Lord.

Andrew, Gre. Manly or Manful. *Fruculphus* turneth it *Decorus*, Comely and Decent; I know not upon what ground. See *Charles*.

Anaraud, Brit. corrupted from *Honoratus*, that is Honourable.

Angel, Gr. a Messenger.

Anthony, Gre. as *Antheros*, flourishing, from the Greek *Anthos*, a flower; as *Florence* and *Florentius* with the Latines, and *Thales Euthalius* with the Greeks. There are yet some that draw it from *Anton*, a companion of *Hercules*. From this was derived the name of *Antoninus*, which for the vertue of *Antoninus Pius*, how highly it was esteemed, read *Lampridius* in the life of *Alexander Severus*.

Anselm, Germ. Defence of Authority, according to Luther. Whether this name came from the Gotish* word *Anfes*, by which the Goths called

* Gothic.

their victorious Captains as Demigods, I dare not determine ; yet Ansbert, Ansegis, Answald, German names, and Anskettel, used much in the ancient house of the Mallories seem to descend from one head.

Jornandes,
c. 13.

Archebold, vide Erchenbald.

Arfast, Sax. Goodly-man [Alfricus].

Arnold, Ger. Honest, but the Germans write Ernold. Probus in Latine [Luther]. It hath been common in the old Family of the Boyfes.

Arthur, a Latine name in Juvenal drawn from the goodly fixed star Arcturus, and that from Arctus is the Bear, as Urficinus amongst the Romans. The famous Arthur made this name first famous amongst the Britains.

Nota quod
Arth Bri-
tannicè
idem signi-
ficat quod
Urfus
Latinè.

Augustine, Latinè Encreasing, or Majestical, from Augustus, as Victorinus, Justinus, Constantinus, Diminutives from Victor, Justus, Constans, according to Molinæus. One observeth that adoptive names do end in anus, as Æmilianus, Domitianus, Justinianus, adopted by Æmilius, Domitius, Justinus [Lilius Giraldus].

B.

Baldwin, Ger. If we believe Luther, Speedie Conquerour ; if Rhenanus, and Lipsius, Victorious power. But whereas Jornandes, cap. 29, sheweth that King Alaric was surnamed Baldh, *id est*, Audax, for that he was bold and adventurous, and both Kilianus and Lipsius himself doth confess that it was anciently in use, for Bold and confident ; Baldwin must signifie Bold Victor, as Winbald, the same name inverted, Ethelbald, nobly bold ; Willibald, very bold and confident, concurring somewhat in signification with Thrafeas, Thrasimachus, Thrasibulus, Thrasillus, of

Baldh.

Epist. 43.
Cent. 3.

Win.

the Grecians. So all the names wherein Win is found, seem to imply victory, as Tatewin, Learned Victor ; Bortwin, Famous Victor ; Earlwin, Glorious or honourable victor ; and Unwin, yet amongst the Danes for invincible (Jonas Turfon) as Anicetus in Greek. Accordingly we may judge that most names wherein Win is found, to resemble the Greek names, Nicetes, Nicocles, Nicomachus, Nicander, Polynices, &c., which have Nice in them.

Baptist, Gre. A name given to S. John, for that he first baptised, and to many since in honour of him.

Ulph.
Wolph.
Hulf.
Ælf.
Hilp. Helf.

Bardulph, Germ. from Bertulph, *i. e.* fair help. Ulph, Wolf, Hulf, Ælf, Hilp, Helf, signifie Help, as Luther and others assure us. So Ælfrwin, Victorious help ; Ælfric, Rich or powerful help ; Ælfrwald, Helping Governour ; Ælfriva, Help-giver. Names conformable to Boetius, Symmachus, &c.

Bartholomew, Hebr. the son of him that maketh the waters to mount, that is, of God, which lifteth up the mind of his teachers, and drops down water (Szededinus).

Barnabas, or Barnabie, Heb. Son of the Master, or Son of Comfort.

Baruch, Heb. the same with Bennet, blessed.

Basil, Gre. Royal, Kingly, or Princely.

Bede, Sax. He that prayeth, or a devout man, as Eucherius, or Eusebius in Greek. We retain still Bedeman in the same sence, and to say our bedes, is but to say our prayers.

Beavis, may seem probably to be corrupted from the name of the famous Celtique King Bellovesus. When as the French have made in like sort Beavois of the old City Bellovacum. In

both these is a significancy of beauty. In latter times Bogo hath been used in Latine for Beavis. *Benet*, Lat. contracted from *Benedictus*, *i.e.* Blessed. *Benjamin*, Hebr. The Son of the right hand, or *Filius dierum* (Philo). See Joseph. li. i. Archaiologias.

Bernard, Ger. S. Bernard, a Cluniac Monk, drew it from *Bona Nardus*, by allusion ; some turn it Hard child, in which fence Barn is yet retained with us in the North. If it be derived as the Germans will have it from Bearn, which signifieth a Bear, it is answerable to Arthur. Others yet more judicially translate Bernard into *Filialis indoles*, Child-like disposition towards Parents, as Bernher, Lord of many children. It hath been most common in the house of Brus, of Connington and Exton ; out of the which the Lord Harrington, of Exton, and Sir Robert Cotton, of Connington are descended, as his most excellent Majesty from Robert Brus, eldest brother to the first Bernard.

Bern, or
Barn.

Bertran, for Bertrand, fair and pure ; some think that the Spaniards have with sweeter sound drawn hence their Fernando and Ferdinando.

Blase, Gre. Budding forth, or Sprouting with increase.

Boniface, Lat. Well doer, or Good and sweet face. See Winefrid.

Bonaventure, Lat. Good adventure, as Euty chius among the Greeks, Faustus and Fortunatus among the Latines.

Botolph, Sax. contracted into Botall, Help ship, as Saylers in that Age were called Botescarles. In part it is answerable to the Greek names, Nauplius, Naumachius, &c.

Brian, Fre. Written in old Books, Briant and

Brient, Shrill voyce, as among the Romans Vocotius [Nicotius].

Balthasar, Heb. Searcher of Treasure, or without treasure.

C.

Caius, Parents' joy, T. Probus.

Caleb, Heb. Hearty, Philo.

Calisthenes, Gre. Beautiful and strong.

Caradoc, Br. Dearly beloved. Quære.

Cæsar. This came of late to be a Christian name amongst us. Spartianus saith it was first given for killing of an Elephant, which, in the Moores' language is called Cæsar, or that he was cut out of his mother's womb, or born with a bush of hair, or grey eyes. Such variety of opinions is concerning a name, which, as he saith, "Cum æternitate mundi duraturum."

Charles, Germ. according to J. D. Tillet, from Carl, that is strong, stout, courageous, and valiant, as Varius, Valerius, Valens, &c., with the Romans; Craterus, &c., with the Greeks; not from the Greek Charilaus, which signifieth Publicola, the Claw-back of the people. The Hungarians call a King by a general name Carl. (Aventinus.) And Carl is only in the coyns of Carolus Magnus. Scaliger makes Carllman and Carlman answerable to the Greek Andreas.

Gastius
Brifacen-
sis.

Christopher, Gre. Christ-Carrier, a name, as learned men think, devised, and a picture thereunto mystically applied as a representation of the duties of a true Christian, and was as their *Nosce teipsum*. Of such mystical Symbols of the Primitive Christians, see Joseph Scaliger ad Freherum.

Chrysoptom, Gre. Golden-mouth.

Clemens, Lat. Meek, Mild and Gentle.

Constantine, Lat. Fast, or Firm, for which in some parts of the realm we see Custance.

Conrad, Ger. Able-counsel, or Advised valour, as Julius Scaliger will, *Exercitat*, 256. But here is to be noted, that Rad, Red, and Rod signifie counsel and advice [Luther, Alfricus, Kellian], and differ only in Dialect, as Stan, Sten, Stone. And this appeareth by that which the Northern men cried when they killed Walter, Bishop of Duresme, Short Rad, good Rade, quell ye the Bishop, that is, Short counsel, Good counsel, &c. [M. Paris.]

Rad, Red,
Rod.

Cornelius, Lat. All draw it from Cornu, an horn.

Cuthbert, Sax. Not Cut-beard, as some fable, but famous, bright, and clear skill or knowledge, according to the old Verse—

“Quique gerit certum Cuthbert de luce vocamen.”

No man doubteth but Cuth signified knowledge, as uncuth, unknown ; So Cuthwin, skilful victor ; Cuthred, skilful in counsel.

Cyprian, Gre. from Cypria, a name of Venus, so named of the Isle of Cyprus, where she was especially honoured.

Cadwallader, Brit. A warlike name, deduced from Cad, that is Battel, as it seemeth, but I refer it to the learned Britains.

Crescens, Lat.

D.

Daniel, Heb. Judgment of God.

David, Heb. Beloved.

Demetrius, Ger. Belonging to Ceres.

Denis, Gre. for Dionysius, which some fetch from

Dios nous, *i. e.* divine mind. It is one of the names of the drunkard Bacchus, and derived by Nonnius in his Dionysiacis, from Jupiter, his lame leg, for Nifos signifieth, faith he, lame in the Syrian tongue ; and we will imagine that Jupiter halted when Bacchus was enfeamed in his thigh. But St. Denis of France hath most graced this name.

Dru, in Lat. Drugo, or Drogo, Subtle, as Callidius, in Latine, if it come from the Saxon or German ; but if it be French, Lively and Lusty (Nicotius).

Dunstan, Sax. One that writeth S. Dunstan's life faith, the name is answerable to Aaron, *i. e.*, Mountain of fortitude. That Dun with the old English signified a mountain or high hill, is apparent, that they called mountain man Dunferton, and Down continueth in the like fence with us. Others suppose it to signifie Most high, as among our Ancestors Leofftan signified Most beloved ; Betstan, Best of all ; Fridstan, most peaceful, &c. Stan being the most usual termination of the Superlative degree.

E.

Ead. *Eadgar*, Sax. for Eadig-ar, Happy, or blessed, honour, or power, for I find it interpreted in an old History, *Fœlix potestas*. The last Verse of Ethelwardus History seemeth to prove the same, and Eadig (for the which Ead was used in composition) is the word in the sixth of Saint Matth. in the English Saxon Testament, so often iterated for Blessed in the Beatitudes. That Ear, or Ar, signifie honour, it appeareth in the Saxon Laws, and in Jonas Turfon, his Danish Vocabulary, as Arlic, and Earlic, Honourable. And from

Ar.
Ear.
Earle.

hence cometh our honourable name of Earls, which came hither with the Danes, as may be gathered out of Ethelwardus.

Edmundus, Sax. for Edmund, Happy, or blessed peace; Our Lawyers yet do acknowledge Mund for Peace in their word Mundbrech, for breach of Peace. So Ælmund, all peace; Kinmund, Peace to his kindred; Ethelmund, noble peace; yet I know that some tranflate Mund by Mouth, as Pharamund, True Mouth. Mund.

Eadulph, Sax. Happy help.

Eadwin, Happy Victor.

Edward, in Sax. coins Eadward, happy keeper. The Christian humility of King Edward the Confessour brought such credit to this name, that since that time it hath been most usual in all estates. That Ward signifieth a Keeper is apparent by Woodward, Mill-ward, &c. Ward.

Ealdred, Sax. All reverent fear.

Ealred, Sax. All counsel.

Ebulo, See Ybell.

Egbert, or rather Ecbert, Sax. Always bright, famous for ever, as the old English called Everlasting life, Ec-life.

Ellis, Heb. Corruptly for Elias, Lord God.

Elmer, Sax. Contracted from Ethelmer, Noble and renowned: for Willeranus translateth Mere, by Celebris and Famofus. So Merwin renowned Victor, Merwald renowned governour. Yet I know B. Rhenanus turneth Meir and Mere by Governour. Cap. ult. Rer. Ger. Mer,
Meir.

Emanuel, Heb. God with us.

Emary, See Amery.

Enion, Brit. From Æneas, as some think, but the British Glossary translateth it Justus, Just and upright.

Engelbert, Germ. Bright Angel.

Erasmus, Gr. Amiable, or to be beloved.

Erchenbald, Ger. Powerful, bold and speedy learner, or observer (*Dafypodius*.)

Ernest, Germ. in Cæsar Ariovistus, Severe (*Aventinus*) in the like sense we still retain it.

Esfay, Heb. Reward of the Lord.

Ethelbert, or *Edlebert*, Noble bright, or nobly renowned; for *Ethel* or *Adel* signifie in Germany, Noble. From whence happily *Athalaric*, King of the Goths, had his name. From hence it was that the heirs apparent of the Crown of England were surnamed *Etheling*, *i. e.* Noble born, and *Clyto*, *i. e.* Inclytus; as in the declining estate of the Roman Empire the Heirs of Emperours were called *Nobilissimi*; hence also the Spaniards, which descended from the German Goths, may seem to have partly borrowed their *Idal-guio*, by which word they signifie their noblest gentlemen.

Ethelred, Sax. Noble advice and Counsell.

Ethelard, Sax. For which we now use *Adelard*, Noble disposition.

Ethelstan, Sax. Noble Jewel, pretious stone, or, most noble.

Ethelward, Sax. Now *Ælward*, Noble Keeper.

Ethelwold, Sax. Noble governour, for the old book of S. Augustines in Canterbury, Willeranus and Luther do agree that *Wold* and *Wald* doth signifie *Præfectus*, a Governour. So *Bertwold* and *Brightwold*, famous Governour, *Kinwold*, Governour of his kindred.

Ethelwolp, Sax. Noble helper.

Everard, Ger. Well reported, as *Gesnerus* writeth, like to *Eudoxus* of the Greeks; but others with more probability deduce it from *Eberard*, *i. e.*

Ethel.
Adel.
Etheling.
Clyto.

Wold
and
Wald.

excellent, or supreme towardness. A name most usual in the ancient family of the Digbyes.

Eusebius, Gr. Pious and Religious godly man.

Eustache, Gre. Seemeth to be drawn from the Greek *ευσταθης*, which signifieth Constant, as Constantinus, but the former ages turned it into Eustachius in Latin.

Evan, See Ivon.

Eutropius, Gr. well mannered.

Ezechias, Heb. Strength of the Lord.

Ezechiel, Heb. Seeing the Lord.

F.

Fabian, from Fabius, who had his name from beans, as Valerian from Valerius. Fabianus, Bishop of Rome, martyred under Decius, first gave reputation to this name.

Fælix, Lat. Happy; the same with Macarius among the Grecians.

Florence, Lat. Flourishing, as Thales with the Greeks, Antonius with the Latines.

Francis, Germ. from Franc, that is Free, not servile, or bond. The same with the Greek Eleutherius, and the Latin Liberius.

Frederic, Germ. Rich peace, or as the Monk which made this allusion, Peaceable reign.

Est adhibenda fides rationi nominis hujus
Compositi Frederic, duo componentia ejus
Sunt Frederic, Firth quid nisi pax, Ric, quid nisi regum ?
Sic per Hendiadyon Fredericus, quid nisi vel rex
Pacificus ? vel regia pax ? pax pacificusque.

For Frideric, th' English have commonly used Frery and Fery, which hath been now a long time a Christian name in the ancient family of Tilney, and lucky to their house, as they report.

Fremund, Sax. Free peace.

Foulke, or *Fulke*, Germ. Some derive it from the Germ. Vollg, Noble and Gallant ; but I from Folc, the English-Saxon word for people, as though it were the same with Publius of the Romans, and only translated from Publius, as loved of the people and commons. This name hath been usual in that ancient family of Fits-Warin, and of later times in that of the Grevils.

Fulbert, Sax. Full-bright.

Fulcher, Sax. Lord of people.

Ferdinando, See Bertram. This name is so variable that I cannot resolve what to say ; for the Spaniards make it Hernand and Hernan ; the Italians Ferando and Ferante ; the French Ferant, which is now become a surname with us ; and the Latines Ferdinandus : unless we may think it is fetcht by transposition from Fred and Rand, that is, Pure peace.

G.

Gabriel, Heb. Man of God, or Strength of God.

Gaius, See Caius.

Gamaliel, Heb. Gods reward, as Deodatus, Theodorus, and Theodosius.

Garret, for Gerard and Gerald. See Everard, for from thence they are detorted, if we believe Gefnerus. But rather Gerard may seem to signify all towardness, as Gertrud, all truth ; Germin, all victorious ; and the German nation is so named, as all and fully men.

Gawen, a name devised by the author of King Arthur's table, if it be not Walwin. See Walwin.

George, Gre. Husbandmen, the same with Agricola, a name of special respect in England since the victorious King Edward the third chose *S. George* for his Patron, and the English in all

encounters and battels used the name of Saint George in their cries, as the French did, Montjoy, S. Denis.

Gedeon, Heb. A Breaker, or Destroyer.

German, Lat. Of the same stock, True, no counterfeit, or a natural brother. S. German, who suppressed the Pelagian heresie in Britain, about the year 430, advanced this name in this Isle.

Gervas, Gervasius in Latin, for Gerfast (as some Germans conjecture) that is, All sure, firm, or fast. If it be so, it is only Constans translated. But it is the name of a Martyr, who suffered under Nero at Millain, who if he were a Grecian, as his fellow martyr Protasius was, it may signifie grave and Ancient, or honourable, as wrested from Gerousius.

Geffrey, Ger. from Goufred, Joyful peace. Kilianus translateth Gaw, Joyful, as the French do Gay. That Fred and Frid do signifie peace is most certain, as Fredstole, *id est*, Pacis cathedra. See Frederic.

Frid, Fred.

Gilbert, Germ. I supposed heretofore to signifie Gold-like-bright, as Aurelius or Aurelianus: or yellow bright, as Flavius with the Romans. For Geele is yellow in old Saxon, and still in Dutch, as Gilvus according to some in Latin. But because it is written in Dooms-day book Gislebert, I judge it rather to signifie Bright or brave pledge, for in old Saxon Gisle signifieth a pledge; and in the old English book of S. Augustine's of Canterbury, sureties and pledges for keeping the peace are called Fredgisles. So it is a well fitting name for children which are the only sweet pledges and pawns of love between man and wife, and accordingly called Dulcia pignora, and Pignora amoris.

Giles, is miserably disjoyned from Ægidius, as Gillet from Ægidia, by the French, as appears in histories by the name of the Duke of Rollo's wife. It may seem a Greek name, for that S. Giles, the first that I have read so named, was an Athenian, and so drawn from Aigidion, that is, Little Kid, as we know Martianus Capella had his name in like fence; yet some no less probably fetch Giles from Julius, as Gilian from Juliana.

Godfrey, Ger. From Godfred, God's peace, or godly; for the Danes call godlines Gudfriedhed [Jonas Turfon].

Godard, Gre. Strength of God, or Gods-man, as Gabriel, according to Luther. But I think it rather to signifie Godly disposition or towardness, for Ard and Art in the German tongue do signifie Towardness, aptness, or disposition. As Mainard, powerful disposition; Giffard, Liberal disposition, as Largus; Bernard, Child-like disposition; Leonard, Lionlike disposition, as Leoninus; Reinard, pure disposition, as Syncerus.

Godwin, Germ. For Win-God, converted, or victorious in God.

Godrich, Ger. Rich, or powerful in God.

Gregory, Gr. Watching, watchful, as Vigilantius and Vigilius in the Latin.

Gryffith, Brit. Some Britains interpret it Strong-faithed.

Gruffin, Brit. If it be not the same with Gryffith, some do fetch from Rufinus, Red, as many other Welsh names are derived from colours.

Grimbald, Ger. But truly Grimoald, power over anger, as Rodoald, power of counsel (Luther), a name most usual in the old family of Pauncefoot.

Gwischard, See Wischard.

Guy, in Latin Guido, from the French Guide, A guide, leader or director to others.

Ard.

Junius.
Lipfius.
Kilianus.

H.

Hadrian, Lat. deduced from the City Hadria, whence Hadrian the Emperour had his original. Gefner bringeth it from the Greek Ἀδρὸς Gros, or wealthy.

Ael. Spar-
tianus.
Hadr. in
lib. vitæ
suæ.

Hamon, Heb. Faithful.

Hanibal, A Punick name. Gracious Lord.

Hector, Gr. Defender, according to Plato.

Henry, Ger. in Latin Henricus. A name so famous since the year 920, when Henry the first was Emperour, that there have been 7 Emperours, 8 Kings of England, 4 Kings of France, as many of Spain of that name. But now thought unlucky in French Kings: when as King Henry the Second was slain at tilt, King Henry the Third and Fourth stab'd by two villanous monsters of mankind. If Einric be the original, it signifieth ever rich and powerful. If it be deduced from Herric, which the Germans use now, it is as much as Rich Lord. I once supposed, not without some probability, that it was contracted from Honoricus, of which name, as Procopius mentioneth, there was a Prince of the Vandales in the time of Honorius, and therefore likely to take name of him, as he did from Honor. And lately I have found that Fr. Phidelphus is of the same opinion. Howsoever it hath been an ominous good name in all respects of signification.

In Epistolis.

Hengest, Sax. Horse-man, the name of him which led the first Englishmen into this Isle, somewhat answerable to the Greek names, Philippe, Speusippus, Ctesippus; his brother in like sort was called Horfa.

Harhold, Sax. Luther interpreteth it Governour or

Hare,
Here.

General of an Army, and so would I if it were Harwold. But being written Harhold and Herold, I rather turn it, love of the Army. For Hold see Rheinhold. For Hare and Here that they signifie both an Army, and a Lord, it is taken for granted: Yet I suspect this Here for a Lord to come from the Latin Herus. See Ethelwold.
Herbert, Ger. Famous Lord, bright Lord, or Glory of the Army.

Herwin, Ger. Victorious Lord, or Victor in the Army.

Harman, or *Hermon*, Ger. General of an Army, the same which Strato or Polemarchus in Greek: Cæsar turned it into Arminius [Iscudus.] Hence the General Dukes are called Hertogen, as leaders of Armies.

Hercules, Gr. Glory, or illumination of the air, as it pleaseth Macrobius, who affirmed it to be proper to the Sun, but hath been given to valiant men for their glory.

Hierome, Gr. Holy name.

Hildebert, Ger. Bright, or famous Lord. See Maud.

Hilary, Lat. Merry and pleasant.

Howel, A British name, the original whereof some Britain may find. Goropius turneth it Sound or whole, as wisely as he saith, Englishmen were called Angli, because they were good Anglers. I rather would fetch Hoel from Helius, that is, Sun-bright, as Coel from Cœlius.

Hugh, Aventinus deriveth it from the German word Hougen, that is, flasher or cutter. But whereas the name Hugh was first in use among the French, and Otfrid in the year 900 used Hugh for Comfort, I judge this name to be borrowed thence, and so it is correspondent to the Greek names Eipidius, and Elpis.

Humfrey, Germ. for Humfred, House-peace, a lovely and happy name, if it could turn homewars between man and wife into peace. The Italians have made Onuphrius of it in Latin.

Hubert, Sax. Bright form, fair shape, or fair hope.

Horatio, I know not the Etymology, unless you will derive it from the Greek, ὁρατὸς or ὁρατινὸς, as of good eye-sight.

J.

Jacob, Heb. A tripper or supplanter. Whose name, because he had power with God, that he might also prevail with men, was changed into Israel by God. See Genes. cap. 32. Philo de nominibus mutatis.

James, Wrested from Jacob, the same. Jago in Spanish, Jaques in French; which some Frenchified English, to their disgrace, have too much affected.

Jasper.

Ibel. See Ybel.

Joachim, Heb. Preparation of the Lord.

Jeremy, Heb. High of the Lord.

Joab, Heb. Fatherhood.

John, Heb. Gracious, yet though so unfortunate in Kings; for that John, King of England, well near lost his Kingdom; and John, King of France, was long captive in England; and John Balioll was lifted out of his Kingdom of Scotland; that John Steward, when the Kingdom of Scotland came unto him, renouncing that name, would be proclaimed King Robert. See Ivon.

Job, Heb. Sighing, or sorrowing.

Jordan, Heb. The river of Judgment.

Josuah, Heb. As Jesuiah, Saviour.

Joscelin, A diminutive from *Jost* or *Justus*, as *Justus*, according to *Islebius*; but mollified from *Jostelin* in the old Netherland language, from whence it came with *Joscelin* of *Lovan*, younger son of *Godfrey*, Duke of *Brabant*, Progenitour of the honourable *Percyes*; if not the first, yet the most noble of that name in this Realm. *Nicotius* maketh it a diminutive from *Jost*, *Judocus*.

Joseph, Heb. Encreasing (*Philo*) or encrease of the Lord.

Josias, Heb. Fire of the Lord.

Josuah, Heb. The Lord Saviour.

Inglebert, See *Engelbert*.

Ingram, Germ. *Engelramus* in Latin, deduced from *Engell*, which signifieth an Angel, as *Angelo* is common in Italy, so *Engelbert* seemeth to signifie bright Angel.

Isaac, Heb. Laughter, the same which *Gelasius* among the Greeks.

Israel, Heb. Seeing the Lord, or prevailing in the Lord. See *Jacob*.

Julius, Gre. Soft haired, or mossie bearded, so doth *Julius* signifie in Greek. It was the name of *Æneas'* son, who was first called *Ilus*.

Ilus erat dum res stetit Ilia regno.

The old Englishmen in the North parts turned *Julius* into *Joly*, and the unlearned Scribes of that time may seem to have turned *Julianus* into *Jolanus*, for that name doth often occur in old evidences.

Juon is the same with *John*, and used by the Welsh and Slavonians for *John*; and in this Realm about the Conquerour's time *John* was rarely found, but *Juon*, as I have observed.

Jonathan, Heb. The same with Theodorus, and Theodosius, that is, God's gift.

K.

Kenhelme, Sax. Defence of his kindred. Helm, Holat. Defence (Luther) : so Eadhelme, Happy defence ; Bright-helme, Fair defence ; Sig-helme, Victorious defence.

Kenard, Sax. Kind disposition, and affection to his kindred.

L.

Lambert, Sax. As some think, Fair-lamb, Luther turneth it, Far famous.

Lancelot seemeth a Spanish name, and may signifie a Launce, as the military men use the word now for an horseman. Some think it to be no ancient name, but forged by the writer of King Arthur's history for one of his doughty Knights.

Laurence, Lat. Flourishing like a Bay-tree ; the same that Daphnis in Greek.

Lazarus, Heb. Lord's-help.

Leofstan, Sax. Most beloved.

Leofwin, Sax. Winlove, or to be loved, as Agapetus, and Erasmus with the Greeks, and Amandus with the Latines.

Leonard, Germ. Lion-like disposition, as Thymoleon with the Greeks, or Popularis indoles, as it pleaseth Lipsius, that is, People-pleasing disposition.

Lewis, Wrenched from Lodowick, which Tilius interpreteth, Refuge of the people. But see Lodowick.

Lewlin, Brit. Lion-like, the same with Leoninus and Leontius.

Lionel, Lat. Leonellus, that is, Little-lion.

Leodegar or *Leger*, Germ. Gatherer of people, Lipsius in Poliorceticis, or Altogether popular.

Leod.
Almonius,
lib. 3, c. 8.
M. Welfe-
rus rerum
Boiaca-
rum, p. 118,

Leodpold, Germ. Defender of people, corruptly Leopold. In our ancient tongue Leod signified people of one City, as Leodscip was to them Respublica. The Northern Germans have yet Leud in the same sense. So Luti, Liudi, Leuti, and Leudi, as the Dialect varieth, signifies people. In which sense the Normans, in the life of Carolus Magnus, were called North-Leud. The names wherein Leod are found seem translated from those Greek names wherein you shall find Demos and Laos, as Demosthenes, that is, Strength of the people; Demochares, that is, Gracious to the people; Demophilus, that is, Lover of the people; Nicodemus, that is, Conquerour of People; Laomedon, that is, Ruler of people; Laodamus, that is, Tamer of people, &c.

Livin, Germ. The same with Amatus, that is, Beloved [Kilianus].

Luke, Heb. Rising or lifting up.

Ludovic, Germ. Now contracted into Clovis and Lovis, Famous warrior, according to that of Helmoldus Nigellus.

Nempe sonat Hludo præclarum, Wiggh quoque Mars est.

M.

Madoc, Brit. from Mad, that is, Good, in the Welsh, as Caradoc, from Care, that is, beloved. The same with Agathias in Greek [Dict. Wallicum.]

Malachias, Heb. My messenger.

Manasses, Heb. Not forgotten.

Marcellus, Lat. Plutarch out of Possidonius deriveth

it from Mars, as martial and warlike, others from Marculus, that is, an Hammer. The latter times turned it to Marcel and Mallet, which divers took for a furname, because they valiantly did hammer and beat down their adversaries. See Malmes. pag. 54.

Marmaduc, Germ. *Mermachtig*, as some conjecture, which in old Saxon signifieth More mighty, being sweetned in sound by process of time. A name usual in the North, but most in former times in the noble families of Tweng, Lumley, and Constable, and thought to be Valentinianus translated.

Mark, in Hebrew signifieth High, but in Latin, according to Varro, it was a name at the first given to them that were born in the month of March; but according to Festus Pompeius it signifieth a Hammer or Mallet, given in hope the person should be martial.

Matthew, Heb. God's gift.

Martin, Lat. From Martius, as Antoninus from Antonius. Saint Martin the military Saint, Bishop of Toures, first made this name famous among the Christians by his admirable piety.

Mercury, Lat. "Quasi medius currens inter Deos & homines," as the Grammarians Etymologize it, a mediate cursitor between Gods and men.

Meredith, Brit. in Latin Mereducius.

Merric, Brit. in Latin Meuricus. I know not whether it be corrupted from Maurice.

Michael, Heb. Who is perfect? or who is like God? The French contract it into Miel.

Maximilian, A new name, first devised by Frederic the third Emperour, who doubting what name to give to his son and heir, composed this name of two worthy Romans' names, whom he most admired,

Q. Fabius Maximus and *Scipio Æmilianus*, with hope that his son would imitate their virtues. (Hieronymus Gebvilerius de familia Austriaca.)

Miles, Lat. Milo, which some fetch from *Milium*, a kind of grain called Millet, as probably as *Plinie* draweth *Fabius*, *Lentulus*, *Cicero*, from *Faba*, *Lens*, *Cicer*, that is, beans, lentil, and chich-pease. But whereas the French contract *Michael* into *Miel*, some suppose our *Miles* comes from thence.

Moses, Heb. Drawn up.

Morgan, Brit. The same with *Pelagius*, that is Seaman, if we may believe an old fragment; and *Mor* signifies the Sea among the Welsh: So *Marius*, *Marinus*, *Marianus*, and *Pontius*, among the Latines, have their names from *Mare* and *Pontus* the Sea.

Maugre, A name estfoons used in the worshipful Family of *Vavafors*; *Malgerius*, in old histories. Quære.

Morice, from the Latine *Mauritius*, and that from *Maurus*, a Moor, as *Syritius* from *Syrus*, a Syrian. The name not of any worth in his own signification, but in respect of Saint *Maurice* a Commander in the Thebane Legion martyred for the Christian profession under *Maximianus*.

N.

Nathaniel, Hebr. The gift of God, as *Theodosius*, &c.

Neale, Fre. Blackish, or swart, for it is abridged from *Nigel*, and so always written in Latine Records *Nigellus*, consonant to *Nigrinus*, and *Atrius* of the Latines, *Melanius* and *Melanthus* of the Grecians.

Nicholas, Gre. Conquerour of the people.

Norman, drawn from the Norman Nation, as Northern-man, usual anciently in the Family of Darcy.

Noel, French. The same with the Latine Natalis, given first in honour of the feast of Christ's birth, to such as were then born.

O.

Odo, See *Othes*.

Oliver, A name fetched from the peace-bringing Olive, as Daphnis and Laurence from the triumphant Lawrel.

Osbern, Sax. House-child, as Filius familiâs, (Luther.)

Osbert, Sax. Domestical brightness, or light of the Family.

Osmund, Sax. House-peace.

Oswold, Germ. House-ruler or Steward; for Wold in old English and high Dutch is a Ruler: but for this the Normans brought in Le Despencer, now Spencer. The holy life of Saint Oswald, King of Northumberland, who was incessantly in prayer, hath given much honour to this name. See Ethelwold.

Othes, An old man in England, drawn from Otho, written by some Odo, and by others Eudo, in English-Saxon Odan, and after the original whereof, when Suetonius could not find, I will not seek. Hood, Aventinus maketh it Hud, that is, Keeper: but Petrus Blesensis, Epist. 126, maketh it to signifie a Faithful Reconciler; for he writeth, Odo, in Episcopum Parisiensem consecratus, nomen suis operibus interpretari non cessat, fidelis sequester inter Deum & homines. Ottwell and Ottey seem to be Nurse names drawn from Othes.

Owen, Lat. Audoenus, if he be the same with Saint Owen of France. But the Britains will have it

from old King Oneus father in law to Hercules : others from Eugenius, that is, Noble or well born. Certain it is that the Countrey of Ireland called Tir-Oen, is in Latine Records, Terra Eugenii ; and the Irish Priests know no Latine for their Oen but Eugenius, as Rothericus for Rorke. And Sir Owen Ogle, in Latine Records, as I have been informed, was written Eugenius Ogle. *Original*, May seem to be deducted from the Greek Origenes, that is, Born in good time.

P.

Pascal, Deduced from Pascha, the Passeeover.

Patrick, Lat. From Patricius, Quasi Patrem ciens, A Peer or State, he who could cite his father as a man of honour. A name given first to Senators' sons ; but it grew to reputation when Constantine the Greek made a new state of Patricii, who had place before the Præfectus Prætorio, or Lord great Master of the house, if it may be so translated [Zozimus.]

Paul, Heb. Wonderful or rest : But the learned Baronius, drawing it from the Latine, maketh it Little or humble.

Paulin, From Paul, as Nigrinus from Niger.

Percival, Is thought at first to have been a surname, and after (as many other) a Christian name, fetched from Percheval, a place in Normandy. Onebyallusion made in this Percival, Persevalens.

Payn, in Lat. Paganus, exempt from military service, a name now out of use, but having an opposite signification to a military man, as Scaliger observed upon Aufonius.

Peter, For which as the French used Pierre, so our Ancestours used Pierce, a name of high esteem among the Christians, since our Saviour named

Simon, the son of Jona, Cephas, which is by interpretation a stone. John i. 43. But foolishly have some Peters called themselves Pierius.

Peregrine, Lat. Strange or outlandish.

Philebert, Germ. Much bright fame, or very bright and famous, as Polyphemus in Greek [Rhenanus.]

Philippe, Gre. A lover of Horses. Philip Berold, conceiting this his name, very Clerkly proves that Philip is an Apostolical name by Saint Philip the Apostle, a Royal name by King Philip King of Macedonia, and an Imperial name by Philip the first Christian Emperour.

Posthumus, Lat. Born after his father's death.

Q.

Quintin, Lat. From Quintus, the fifth born, a man dignified by St. Quintin of France.

R.

Ralfe, Ger. Contracted from Randulph, which as Rodulph signifieth Help-counsel, not differing much from the Greek Eubulus.

Raymund, Germ. Quiet peace, as Hefychius in Greek.

Randal, Sax. Corrupted from Ranulph, that is, Fair help.

Raphael, Heb. The Physick of God.

Reinhold, Sax. Sincere or pure love : for the Germans call their greatest and goodliest River for pureness Rheine, and the old English used Hold for love, Holdy for lovely, as Unhold, without love : Willeranus useth Hold for favour, which is answerable to love. I have also observed Hold for Firm, and once for a General of an Army.

Rein, and
Ran Hold.

Hold.

Rhefe, A British name, deduced as they think from Rhesus the Thracian King, who was (as Homer describeth him by his armour,) of a Giantlike

stature. But I dare not say the word implieth so much in signification: yet Rhesi signifieth a Giant in the German tongue.

Richard, Sax. Powerful and rich disposition, as Richer, an ancient Christian name, signified Powerful in the Army, or rich Lord, and was but Herric reversed. Aventinus turneth it Treasure of the Kingdom. See Aubry.

Rad, Red,
Rod,

Robert, Germ. Famous in Counsel, for it is written most anciently Rodbert. Rad, Red, and Rod do signifie counsel: See Conrad and Albert. This name was given to Rollo, first Duke of Normandy, an original Ancestour of the Kings of England, who was called first by the Normans and French Rou, whereunto some without ground think that Bert was added: so that it should signifie Rou, the renowned. Others untruly turn it Red-beard, as though it were all one with Ænobarbus of the Latines, or Barbarossa of the Italians: John Bodin (or Pudding), that I may give him his true English name, maketh it full wisely Red-bard; but I think no Robert which knoweth what Bardus meaneth, will like of it.

Fredoardi
Remensis
Chronic.

Roger, Ger. Ruger, Quiet, the same with Tranquillus in Latine, Fredard writeth it always Rottgarius, or Rodgarus, so it seemeth to signifie all counsel, or strong counsel.

Rolland, Germ. Whereas it was anciently written Rodland, it may seem to signifie Counsel for the Land. And the first that I find so named was Land-wardan in France, under Carolus Magnus, against the Piracies of the Normans. The Italians use Orland for Rowland by Metathesis.

Romane, Lat. Strong, from the Greek Ρώμη, answerable to Valens.

Ruben, Heb. The son of visions, or a quick-seeing son. (Philo.)

Reinfred, Sax. Pure peace.

S.

Salomon, Heb. Peaceable.

Sampson, Heb. There the second time.

Samuel, Heb. Placed of God.

Saul, Lent of the Lord ; or as some will, Fox.

Sebastian, Gre. Honourable or majestic, as Augustus or Augustinus among the Romans.

Sigismund, Germ. Victorious peace, or victory with peace. That Sig signifieth Victory, Alfric, Dasipodius and Luther do all agree ; yet Hadr. Junius turneth it victorious or prevailing speech. So Sigward, now Seward, victorious preserver ; Sig-helm, victorious defence ; Sighere, Conquerour of an Army, or victorious Lord ; and Sigebert, now Sebright, victorious fame, or fame by victory.

Sig, and Seg.

Silvester, Lat. Wood-man.

Sylvanus, Lat. Wood-man, or rather Wood-god.

See Walter.

Simon, Heb. Obedient listning (Philo).

Stephen, Gre. A Crown.

Swithin, Sax. From the old English Switheahn, that is, Very high, as Celfus or Exuperius with the Romans. This name hath been taken up in honour of Saint Swithin the holy Bishop of Winchester about the year 860, and called the weeping Saint Swithin, for that about his feast Præsepe and Afelli, rainy constellations, do arise cosmically, and commonly cause rain.

T.

Theobald, commonly Tibald, and Thibald, God's power, as B. Rhenanus noteth. But certain it is,

Theod.

that in our Saxon Pfalter Gentes is always translated by Theod, and in the English-Saxon old Annales, the English Nation is often called Engla-theod. The same Lipsius in Poliorceticis affirmeth to be in the ancient German Pfalters. So that Theobald seemeth in his opinion to signifie powerful, or bold over people. It was the common name in the Family of the Gorges; as also in the Butlers of Ireland, and afterwards in the Verdons, by reason that Theobald Butler married Rose, the Daughter and Heir of that ancient and noble House; whose Posterity, in regard she was so great an Heir, bore her surname.

Theodore, Gre. God's gift, now corruptly by Welsh-Britains called Tydder.

Theodosius, Gre. the same with Theodore.

Theodoric, Ger. Contractly, Derric and Terry, with the French, Powerable, or Rich in people, according to Lipsius.

Theophilus, Greek. A lover of God.

Thomas, Hebr. Bottomless deep, or Twinne.

Timothy, Gre. From Timotheus, Honouring God.

Tobias, Heb. The Lord is good.

Tristram, I know not whether the first of this name was christned by King Arthur's fabler. If it be the same which the French call Tristan, it cometh from sorrow: for P. Æmilius noteth that the son of Saint Lewes of France, born in the heavy sorrowful time of his father's imprisonment under the Saracens, was named Tristan in the same respect.

Turstan, Sax. For Trustan, most true and trusty, as it seemeth.

V.

Valens, Lat. Puissant.

Valentine, Lat. The same.

Vchtred, Germ. High counsellor, used in the old Family of Raby. From whence the Nevilles.

Vincent, Lat. Victorious.

Vital, Lat. He that may live a long life, like to Macrobius; or Lively, the same that Zosimus in Greek.

Vivian, Lat. The same.

Urbanus, Lat. Courteous, civil.

Urian, The same with George, as I have heard of some learned Danes. It hath been a common name in the Family of Saint Pier of Cheshire, now extinguished.

W.

Walter, Germ. from Waldher, for so it is most anciently written, a Pilgrim according to Renecius; others make it a Wood-Lord, or a Woodman, answerable to the name of Silvius, Silvanus, or Silvester. The old English called a wood, Wald, and an Hermite living in the woods, a Waldbrooder. But if I may cast my conceit, I take it to be Herwald inverted, as Herric and Richer, Winbald and Baldwin. And so it signifieth Governour or General of an Army, as Hegesistratus. See Herman and Harold.

Waldwin, Some have interpreted out of the German tongue, a Conquerour, as Nicholaus and Nicodemus, Victor in Latine; but now we use Gawen instead of Walwyn. Architenias maketh it Walganus in Latine. But if Walwin was a Britain, and King Arthur's Nephew, as W. Malmesbury noteth, where he speaketh of his Gyant-like bones found in Wales, I refer the signification to the Britains.

Warin, Jovianus, libr. i. "De Aspiratione," draweth

it from Varro. But whereas it is written in all Records Guarinus, it may seem mollified from the Dutch Gerwin, that is, All-victorious. See Gertrud.

William, Ger. For sweeter found drawn from Wilhelm, which is interpreted by Luther, Much Defence, or Defence to many, as Wilwald, Ruling many; Wildred, Much reverent fear, or Awful; Wilfred, Much peace; Willibert, Much increase. So the French that cannot pronounce W have turned it into Philli, as Phillibert for Willibert, Much brightness. Many names, wherein we have Will, seem translated from the Greek names composed of Πολύς, as Polydamas, Polybius, Polyxenus, &c. Helm yet remaineth with us, and Villi, Willi, and Billi yet with the Germans, for Many. Others turn William, a willing defender; and so it answereth the Roman Titus, if it come from Tuendo, as some learned will have it. The Italians, that liked the name, but could not pronounce the W, if we may believe Gefner, turned it into Galeazo, retaining the fence in part for Helme: But the Italians report, that Galeazo, the first Viscount of Millain, was so called, for that many Cocks crew lustily at his birth. This name hath been most common in England since King William the Conquerour, insomuch that upon a festival day in the Court of King Henry the Second, when Sir William Saint-John, and Sir William Fitz-Hamon, especial Officers, had commanded that none but of the name of William should dine in the great Chamber with them, they were accompanied with an hundred and twenty Williams, all knights, as Robert Montensis recordeth, Anno 1173.

Wilfred, Sax. Much peace.

Wimund, Sax. Sacred peace, or holy peace, as Wi-

Will,
and
Willi.

bert, Holy and Bright ; for Wi, in Willeramus, is translated Sacer.

Wifchard, or Guiscard, Norm. Wilie, and crafty shifter : (W. Gemiticensis) Falcandus the Italian interpreteth it Erro, that is, Wander. But in a Norman name I rather believe the Norman Writer.

Wolstan, Sax. Comely, Decent, as Decentius (Dafipodius.)

Wulpher, Sax. Helper, the Saxon name of a King of Middle-England, answering to the Greek name Alexias, or rather Epicurus. The most famous of which name was a hurtful man, albeit he had a helpful name.

Y.

Ybel, Brit. Contracted from Eubulus, Good Counsellour.

Ythell, Brit. Likewise contracted from Euthalius, very flourishing.

Z.

Zachary, Hebr. The memory of the Lord.

CHRISTIAN NAMES OF WOMEN.

Left Women, the most kind Sex, should conceive unkindness, if they were omitted, somewhat of necessity must be said of their Names.



BIGAEL, Heb. The father's joy.

Agatha, Gre. Good, Guth in old Saxon.

Agnes, Gre. Chaste, the French write it in Latine Ignatia ; But I know not why.

Aletheia, Gre. Verity or Truth.

Alice, Germ. Abridged from Adeliz, Noble. See

Ethelbert. But the French make it defendress, turning it into Alexia.

Anna, Heb. Gracious, or merciful.

Arbela, Heb. God hath revenged, as some Translations have it. (Index Bibliorum.)

Adelin, Germ. Noble or descending from Nobles.

Audry, Sax. It seemeth to be the same with Etheldred, for the first foundress of Ely Church is so called in Latine Histories, but by the people in those parts, S. Audry. See Etheldred.

Amy, Fr. Beloved, in Latine Amata, the name of the ancient King Latinus' wife. It is written in the like sence Amicia, in old Records.

Anchoret, Gr. For Anachoreta, Solitary liver, which retired her self from the world to serve God.

Avice, Some observe that as it is written now Avice, so in former times Hawista, and in elder Ages, Helwisa, whereupon they think it detorted from Hildevig, that is, Lady-defence, as Lewis is wrested from Lodovicus and Ludwig.

Aureola, Lat. Pretty little golden dame.

Anstase, Gre. Anastasia, and that from Anastasie, as Anastasius, given in remembrance of Christ's glorious Resurrection, and ours in Christ.

B.

Barbara, Gre. Strange ; of unknown language, but the name respected in honour of Saint Barbara, martyred for the true profession of Christian Religion, under the Tyrant Maximian.

Beatrice, Lat. from Beatrix, Blessed.

Blanch, Fr. White or fair.

Brigid, Contracted into Bride, an Irish name as it seemeth, for that the ancient S. Brigid, was of that Nation : the other of Suecia was lately canonized about 1400. Quære.

Bertha, Ger. Bright and famous. See Albert.

Bona, Lat. Good.

Benedicta, Lat. Blessed.

Benigna, Lat. Mild, and gentle.

C.

Cassandra, Gre. Inflaming men with love.

Catharine, Gre. Pure, Chaste.

Christian, A name from our Christian profession which the Pagans most tyrannically persecuted, hating, as Tertullian writeth in his "Apologético," a harmless name in harmless people.

Clara, Lat. Clear and Bright, the same with Berta and Claricia in later times.

Cicely, from the Latine, Cæcilia, Grey-eyed.

D.

Denis, See before, among the names of men.

Diana, From the Greek Dios, that is, Jove; as Jovina, or Jove's Daughter, or God's Daughter.

Dionye, From Diana.

Dido, A Phœnician name, signifying a manlike woman, [Servius Honoratus.]

Dorothee, Gre. The gift of God, or given of God.

Dorcas, Gre. A Roe-buck. Lucretius, lib. 4, noteth, that by this name the amorous Knights were wont to salute freckled, warty, and wooden-faced wenches, where he saith,

Cæsia Palladion, nævosa, & lignea Dorcas.

Douse, From the Latine Dulcia, that is, sweet-wench.

Doufable, Fr. Sweet and fair, somewhat like Glycerium.

Douglas, Of the Scottifh surname, taken from the River Douglas, not long since made a Christian

name in England, as Jordan, from the River of that name in the holy Land, was made a Christian name for men.

E.

Etheldred, Noble advice. See Audrey.

Ela, see *Alice*.

Eleanor, Deduced from Helena, Pitiful.

Elizb, Heb. God save.

Elizabeth, Heb. Peace of the Lord, or quiet rest of the Lord; the which England hath found verified in the most honoured name of our late Sovereign. Mantuan playing with it, maketh it Eliza-bella.

Ead, Sax. Drawn from Eadith, in which there is signification of happiness. In latter time it was written Auda, Ada, Ida, and by some Idonea in Latine.

Emme, Some will have to be the same with Amie, in Latine Amata. Paulus Merula saith, it signifieth a good nurse, and so is the same with Eutrophime among the Greeks. Roger Hoveden, pag. 246, noteth that Emma, daughter to Richard the first Duke of Normandy, was called in Saxon Elgiva, that is, as it seemeth, Help-giver.

Emmet, A diminutive from Emme.

Eva, Heb. Giving life.

F.

Faith.

Fortune, The signification well known.

Frediswid, Sax. Very free, truly free.

Francis, See Francis before.

Felice, Lat. Happy.

Fortitude, Lat.

Florence, Lat. Flourishing.

G.

Gertrud, Gr. All true, and Amiable ; if German signifieth All-man, as most learned consent, and so Gerard may signifie All-hardy.

[Althamerus.]

Grace ; the signification is well known.

Grishild, Grey Lady, as Gesia, see Maud.

Gladuse, Brit. from Claudia.

Goodhit, Sax. Contracted from Goodwife, as we now use Goody : by which name King Henry the first was nicked in contempt, as William of Malmesbury noteth.

H.

Helena, Gre. Pitiful : a name much used in the honour of Helena, mother to Constantine the Great, and native of this Isle, although one only Author maketh her a Bithinian, but Baronius and our Historians will have her a Britain.

Hawis, see *Avice*.

I.

Jane, see *Joan*, For in 32 Eliz. Leginae, it was agreed by the Court of the King's Bench, to be all one with Joan.

Judith, Hebr. Praising, Confessing : our Ancestors turned it into Juet.

Joyce, in Latin Jocosæ, Merry, pleasant.

Faquet, Fr. From Jacoba : see James.

Fenet, a diminutive from Joan ; as little and pretty Johan.

Joan see *John*. In latter years some of the better and nicer sort, misliking Joan, have mollified the name of Joan into Jane, as it may seem, for that Jane is never found in old Records ; and as

some will, never before the time of King Henry the eight. Lately, in like sort, some learned Johns and Hanses beyond the Sea have new Chriftned themselves by the name of Janus.

Ifabel, The same with Elizabeth ; if the Spaniards do not mistake, which always translate Elizabeth into Ifabel, and the French into Ifabeau.

Julian, From Julius, Gilian commonly, yet our "Lawyers," Lib. Affis. 26, pag. 7, make them distinct names, I doubt not but upon some good ground.

K.

Katharin, See *Catharin*.

Kingburgh, Sax. Strength and defence of her kindred ; as Kinulf, help of her kindred.

L.

Lettice, Lat. Joyfulness, mirth.

Lydia, Gre. Born in that region of Asia.

Lora, Sax. Discipline or Learning : but I suppose rather it is corrupted from Laura, that is, Bay, and is agreeable to the Greek name Daphne.

Lucia, Lat. Lightsome, Bright : a name given first to them that were born when daylight first appeared.

Lucretia, Lat. An honourable name in respect of the chaste Lady Lucretia ; if it, as Lucretius, do not come from Lucrum, gain, as a good housewife, I leave it to Grammarians. Lucris, a wench in Plautus, seemed to have her name from thence ; whenas he saith it was *Nomen & omen quantivis pretii*.

M.

Mabel, Some will have it to be a contraction of the Italians from *Mabella*, that is, My fair daughter, or maid. But whereas it is written in *Deeds Amabilia* and *Mabilia*, I think it cometh from *Amabilis*, that is, Loveable, or Lovely.

Magdalen, Heb. Majestical.

Margaret, Gr. Commonly *Marget*, Pearl, or precious.

Margery, Some think it to be the same with *Margaret*: others fetch it from *Marjoria*, I know not what flower.

Mary, Heb. Exalted. The Name of the Blessed Virgin, who was blessed among women, because of the fruit of her womb.

Maud, for *Matild*, Germ. *Matildis*, *Mathildis*, and *Matilda* in Latin, Noble or honourable Lady of Maids. *Alfric* turneth *Heroína* by *Hild*. So *Hildebert* was, heroically famous; *Hildegard*, heroic preserver; and *Hilda* was the name of a religious Lady in the Primitive Church of England.

Melicent, Fr. Honey-sweet.

Meraud, Used anciently in Cornwall; from the precious stone called the *Emeraud*.

Muriel, from the Greek *Muron*, Sweet perfume.

N.

Nest, used in Wales for *Agnes*. See *Agnes*.

Nichola, See *Nicholas*.

Nicia, Gre. victorious.

O.

Olympias, Gre. Heavenly.

Orabilis, Lat. Easily intreated.

P.

Penelope, Gre. The name of the most patient, true, constant, and chaste wife of Ulysses, which was given to her for that she carefully loved and fed those birds with purple necks, called Penelopes.

Pernel, from Petronilla, Pretty stone, as Piere and Perkin, strained out of Petre. The first of this name was the daughter of St. Peter.

Prisca, Lat. Ancient.

Priscilla, A diminutive from Prisca.

Prudence, Lat. Whom the Greeks call Sophia, that is, Wisdom.

Philippa, See Philip.

Philadelphia, Gre. A lover of her sisters and brethren.

Phillis, Gre. Lovely, as Amie in Latin.

Polyxena, Gre. She that will entertain many guests and strangers.

R.

Gund. *Radegunde*, Sax. Favourable counsel. Hadrianus Junius translateth Gund, Favour ; so Gunther, Favourable Lord ; Gunderic, Rich, or mighty in favour, &c.

Rachel, Heb. A sheep.

Rebecca, Heb. Fat and full.

Rosamund, Rose of the world, or Rose of peace. See in the Epitaphs.

Rose, Of that fair flower, as Susan in Hebrew.

S.

Sabina, As chaste and religious as a Sabine, who had their name from their worshipping of God.

Sanchia, Lat. From Sancta, that is, holy.

Sarah, Heb. Lady, Mistrefs, or Dame.

Scholastica, Gre. Leafure from bufinefs.

Sufan, Hebr. Lilly, or Rose.

Sifley, See Cæfilia.

Sophronia, Gre. Modest, and temperate.

Sibyll, Gre. God's counfel; others draw it from Hebrew, and will have it to fignifie Divine Doctrine (Peucerus.)

Sophia, Gre. Wifdom; a name peculiarly applyed by the Primitive Christians to our moft blessed Saviour, who is the wifdom of his Father (Epiftle to the Hebrews), by whom all things were made. And therefore fome godly men do more than diflike it as irreligious, that it fhould be communicated to any other.

T.

Tabitha, Heb. Roe-buck.

Tamefin, or *Thomafin*. See Thomas.

Theodofia, Gr. God's-gift.

Tace, Be filent, a fit name to admonifh that fex of filence.

Temperance, Lat. The fignification known to all.

V.

Venus, Lat. Coming to all, as Cicero derived it, à Veniendo, a fit name for a good wench. But for fhame it is turned of fome to Venice. In Greek Venus was called Aphrodite, not from the foam of the Sea, but, Euripides faith, from Aphor-fune, that is, Mad folly.

Urfula, Lat. A little Bear. A name heretofore of great reputation in honour of Urfula, the Britain Virgin-Saint, martyred under God's fcourge, Attila King of the Hunns.

W.

Walburg, Gracious, the same with Eucharía in Greek (Luther). We have turned it into Warburg. Of which name there was an holy woman of our Nation, to whose honour the Cathedral Church at Chester was consecrated.

Winefrid, Sax. Win, or get peace. If it be a British word, as some think it to be, and written Guinfrid, it signifieth Fair and Beautiful countenance. Verily Winfred, a native of this Isle, which preached the Gospel in Germany, was called Boniface; but whether for his good face, or good deeds, judge you.


Other usual names of women I do not call to remembrance at this time, yet I know many other have been in use in former ages among us, as Dervorgild, Sith, Amphilas, &c. And also Nicholea, Laurentia, Richarda, Guilielma, Wilmetta, drawn from the names of men, in which number we yet retain Philippa, Philip, Francisca, Francis, Joanna, Jana, &c.

These English-Saxon, German, and other names may be thought as fair and as fit for men and women, as those most usual Prænomena among the Romans; Aulus, for that he was nourished of the Gods; Lucius, for him that was born in the dawning of the day; Marcus, for him that was born in March; Manius, for him that was born in the morning; Cneus, for him that had a wart; Servius, for him that was born a slave; Quinctius, for him that was fifth born, &c. And our women's names, more gracious than their Rutiliæ, that is Red-hed; Cæsilia, that is, Grey-eyed; and Caia, the most

common name of all among them (signifying Joy) for that Caia Cefilia, the wife of King Tarquinius Priscus, was the best distaff-wife and spinster among them.

Neither do I think in this comparison of names, that any will prove like the Gentleman, who, distasting our names, preferred King Arthur's age before ours, for the gallant, brave, and stately names then used ; as Sir Orson, Sir Tor, Sir Quadrigan, Sir Dinadan, Sir Launcelot, &c. which came out of that forge out of the which the Spaniard forged the haughty and lofty name Traquitantos for his Giant, which he so highly admired, when he had studied many days and odde hours, before he could hammer out a name so conformable to such a person as he in imagination then conceited.

SURNAMEs.¹

 URNAMEs given for difference of families, and continued as hereditary in families, were used in no nation anciently but among the Romans, and that after the league of union with the Sabines ; for the confirmation whereof it was covenanted that the Romans should prefix Sabine names before their own, and likewise the Sabines Roman names. At which time Romulus took the Sabine name of Quirinus,

¹ In this chapter, as in the preceding, my editorial remarks will be few, for the simple reason, that were I to enlarge upon the various and highly suggestive topics it comprises, I should unduly swell the bulk of this volume, and then only reproduce what I have already given to the public in my "English Surnames" (2 vols. post 8vo. 3rd edit. J. R. Smith, 1849.)

because he used to carry a spear, which the Sabines called Quiris. These afterward were called Nomina Gentilitia, and Cognomina; as the former were called Prænomina. The French and we termed them Surnames, not because they are names of the Sire, or the father, but because they are super-added to Christian names, as the Spaniards called them Renombres, as Renames.

The Hebrews, keeping memory of their Tribe, used in their genealogies, in stead of Surnames, the name of their father with Ben, that is, Son, as Melchi Ben-Addi, Addi Ben-Cofam, Cofom Ben-Elmadam, &c. So the Græcians, *Ἰκαρος τοῦ Δαιδάλου*, Icarus, the son of Dædalus; Dædalus, the son of Eupalmus; Eupalmus, the son of Metion.

Lib.
primo.

The like was used among our ancestors the English, as Ceonred, Ceolwolding, Ceoldwald, Cuthing, Cuth, Cuthwining; that is, Ceonred, son of Ceolwald; Ceolwald, son of Cuth; Cuth, son of Cuthwin, &c. And this is observed by William of Malmesbury, where he noteth that the son of Eadgar was called Eadgaring, and the son of Edmund, Edmunding.¹

The Britains in the same sence with Ap for

Since the first edition of that work appeared in 1842, there have been several labourers in the same field, both in England and America. I may add that I have long had in preparation an extensive Dictionary of British Family names, which, in addition to the etymology of many thousands of our surnames, will contain notes on the antiquity of the respective families, (whether indigenous or of foreign name,) variations of orthography, traditions, anecdotes, &c. To this laborious undertaking I beg the aid of such readers of the present volume as may have made old English patronymics their study.

¹ Much very curious information is contained in Mr. J. M. Kemble's essay "On the Names, Surnames, and Nicknames of the Anglo-Saxons," 1846.

Mab ; as Ap Owen, Owen Ap Harry, Harry Ap Rhese : as the Irish with their Mac ; as Donald Mac Neale, Neale Mac Con, Con Mac Dermott, &c. And the old Normans with Fitz for Filz ; as John Fitz-Robert, Robert Fitz-Richard, Richard Fitz-Raph, &c. The Arabians only, as one learned noteth, used their fathers' names without their own forename ; as Aven-Pace, Aven-Rois, Aven-Zoar, that is, the son of Pace, Rois, Zoar : As if Pace had a son at his circumcision named Haly, he would be called Aven-Pace, concealing Haly ; but his son, howsoever he were named, would be called Aven-Haly, &c. So Surnames passing from father to son, and continuing to their issue, were not anciently in use among any people in the world.

Scal. "De
causis
ling. Lat."

Yet to these single names were adjoyned oftentimes other names, as Cognomina, or Soubriquetts, as the French call them ; and By-names, or Nick-names, as we term them, if that word be indifferent to good and bad, which still did die with the bearer, and never descended to posterity. That we may not exemplifie in other nations (which would afford great plenty), but in our own, King Eadgar was called the Peaceable ; King Ethelred, the Unready ; King Edmund, for his Valour, Iron-side ; King Harold, the Hare-foot ; Eadric, the Streona, that is, the Getter or Streiner ; Siward, the Degera, that is, the Valiant ; King William the first, Bastard ; King William the Second, Rouse, that is, the Red ; King Henry the first, Beauclarke, that is, Fine Scholar. So in the house of Anjou, which obtained the Crown of England, Geffrey, the first Earl of Anjou, was surnamed Grifogonel, that is, Grey-cloak ; Fulco his son, Nerra ; his grandchild, Rechin, for his extortion. Again, his grandchild, Plantagenet, for that he ware commonly a broom-stalk

in his bonnet ; his son Henry the second, King of England, Fitz-Empresse, because his mother was Empress ; his son King Richard had for surname *Cœur de Lion*, for his Lion-like courage ; as John was called *Sans-terre*, that is Without land : so that whereas these names were never taken up by the son, I know not why any should think Plantagenet to be the surname of the Royal House of England, albeit in late years many have so accounted it. Neither is it less strange why so many should think Theodore, or Tydur, as they contract it, to be the surname of the Princes of this Realm since King Henry the seventh. For albeit Owen ap Meredith Tydur, which married Katherine, the daughter of Charles the sixth, King of France, was grandfather to King Henry the seventh, yet that Tydur or Theodore was but the Christian name of Owen's grandfather. For Owen's father was Meredith ap Tydur, ap Grono, ap Tydur, who all without Surnames iterated Christian names, after the old manner of the Britains, and other nations heretofore noted, and so lineally deduced his pedigree from Cadwallader, King of the Britains, as was found by Commission directed to Griffin ap Lewellin, Gitten Owen, John King, and other learned men, both English and Welch, in the seventh year of the said King Henry the seventh.

Likewise in the line Royal of Scotland, Milcolme, of Malcolme was surnamed Canmore, that is, Great head ; and his brother Donald, Ban, that is, white ; Alexander the first, the Proud ; Malcolme the fourth, the Virgin ; William his brother, the Lion. As amongst the Princes of Wales, Brochwail Schitrauc, that is, Gaggtothed ; Gurind Barmbruch, that is, Spade-bearded ; Elidir Coscorvaur, that is, Heliodor the Great house-keeper ; and so

in Ireland, Murogh Duff, that is, Black ; Roo, that is, Red ; Nemoliah, that is, full of wounds ; Ban, that is, white ; Ganeloc, that is, Fetters ; Reogh, Brown ; Moyle, Bald.¹

To seek, therefore, the ancient Surnames of the Royal and most ancient families of Europe, is to seek that which never was. And therefore greatly are they deceived which think Valoys to have been the surname of the late French Kings, or Borbon of this present King, or Habsburg, or Austriac, of the Spanish King ; or Steward, of the late Kings of Scotland, and now of Britain ; or Oldenburg, of the Danish : For (as all know that have but sipped of Histories) Valoys was but the Appenage and Earldom of Charles, younger son to Philip the Second, from whom the late Kings descended : so Borbon was the inheritance of Robert, a younger son to St. Lewes, of whom this King is descended. Hadiburg and Austria were but the old possessions of the Emperours and Spanish Progenitours. Steward was but the name of office to Walter, who was high Steward of Scotland, the Progenitor of Robert, first King of Scots of that family, and of the King our Sovereign. And Oldenburg was but the Earldom of Christian, the first Danish King of this Family, elected about 1448. But yet Plantagenet, Steward, Valois, Borbon, Habsburg, &c. by prescription of time have prevailed so far, as they are now accounted surnames. But for surnames of Princes, well said the learned Mercus Salen de Pace. "*Reges cognomine non utuntur, eorum cognomina non sunt necessaria, prout in aliis in-*

*Taurinae
constitu-
tiones.*

¹ "Surnames," a privately printed volume, by B. Homer Dixon, Esq. of Boston, U.S. (8vo, 1857), contains a large number of royal agnomina in various countries in Europe.

ferioribus. quorum ipsa cognomina agnationum ac familiarum memoriam tutantur."

Recueil
des Rois
de France
par J. du
Tillet,
p. 250.

About the year of our Lord 1000 (that we may not minute out the time) surnames began to be taken up in France, as may seem by this special instance. "Theodoret Roy de la France Orientale, assembler grosse Armee pour passer en la Grece, & jusques a Constantinople, mener guerre a l'Empereur Justinian, n' ayant autre querelle a luy que de ce, qu' entre ses autres tiltres par ses Chartres, &c. il mettoit celui de France, selon l'ancienne façon des Romains, qui pernoient pour se honorer les furnoms des nations & peuples qu'ils avoient vaincus ou soubmis," &c. But not in England till about the time of the Conquest, or else a very little before, under King Edward the Confessour, who was all Frenchified. And to this time do the Scottish men also refer the antiquity of their surnames, although Buchanan supposed that they were not in use in Scotland many years after.

Vita Mil-
columbi.

Yet in England, certain it is, that as the better sort, even from the Conquest, by little and little took surnames, so they were not settled among the common people fully, until about the time of King Edward the Second; but still varied according to the father's name, as Richardson, if his father were Richard; Hodgefson, if his father were Roger, or in some other respect; and from thenceforth began to be established (some say by statute) in their posterity.

Perhaps this may seem strange to some English men and Scottish men, who, like the Arcadians, think their surnames as ancient as the Moon, or at the least to reach many an age beyond the Conquest. But they which think it most strange (I speak under correction), I doubt they will hardly

find any surname which descended to posterity before that time : Neither have they seen (I fear) any deed or donation before the Conquest, but subscribed with crosses and single names without surnames, in this manner, in England, ✠ Ego Eadredus confirmavi ; ✠ Ego Edmundus corroboravi ; ✠ Ego Sigarius conclusi ; ✠ Ego Olffstanus consolidavi, &c. Likewise for Scotland, in an old book of Duresme, in the Charter, whereby Edgar, son of King Malcolm, gave Lands near Coldingham to that Church, in the year 1097, the Scottish Noblemen witnesses thereunto, had no other surnames than the Christian names of their fathers : For thus they signed, S. ✠ Gulfi filii Meniani, S. ✠ Culverti filii Donecani, S. ✠ Olavi filii Oghe, &c. As for my self, I never hitherto found any hereditary surname before the Conquest, neither any that I know ; and yet both I my self and divers whom I know, have pored and pussed upon many an old Record and evidence to satisfie our selves herein ; and for my part I will acknowledge my self greatly indebted to them that will clear this doubt.

But about the time of the Conquest, I observed the very primary beginning, as it were, of many surnames which are thought very ancient, when, as it may be proved, that their very lineal Progenitors bare other names within these six hundred years. Mortimer and Warren are accounted names of great antiquity, yet the father of the first Roger, furnamed de Mortimer, was Walterus de Sancto Martino ; which Walter was brother to William, who had assumed the surname de Warrena. He that first took the surname of Moubray (a Family very eminent and noble) was Roger, son of Nigel de Albani ; which Nigel was brother to William de Albani, Progenitor to the

1. Signum.

Surnames in England not in use before the Norman Conquest.

[Vide Hist. Norm. Script. p. 313. A & p. 278 C.]

L. Deven-
lmen Ge-
miticenis.

antient Earls of Arundel. He that first took the name of Clifford from his habitation was the son of Richard, son of Puntz, a noble Norman, who had no other name. The first Lumley was son of an ancient English man, called Liwulph. The first Giffard, from whom they of Buckingham, the Lords of Brimesfield, and others descended, was the son of a Norman, called Osbert de Bolebec. The first Windsor, descended from Walter, the son of Otherus Castellan of Windsor. The first who took the name of Shirley was the son of Sewall, descended from Fulcher, without any other name. The first Nevill (of them which are now) from Robert, the son of Maldred, a Branch of an old English Family, who married Isabel, the daughter and heir of the Nevils, which came out of Normandy. The first Lovel came from Gonel de Perceval. The first Montacute was the son of Drogo Juvenis, as it is in Record. The first Stanley, of the now Earls of Derby, was likewise son to Adam de Aldeleigh or Audley, as it is in the old Pedegree in the Eagle tower of Latham. And to omit others, the first that took the name of de Burgo, or Burk in Ireland, was the son of an English man, called William Fitz Aldelme; as the first of the Giraldines also in that Countrey was the son of an English man, called Girald of Windsor. In many more could I exemplifie, which shortly after the conquest took these furnames, when either their fathers had none at all, or else most different; whatsoever some of their posterity do overween of the antiquity of their names, as though in the continual mutability of the world, conversion of states, and fatal periods of Families, five hundred years were not sufficient antiquity for a Family or name, when as but very few have reached thereunto.

Recor.
regni
Hiber-
niæ.

Giraldus
Cam-
brensis.

In that authentical Record of the Exchequer called Domesday, surnames are first found, brought in then by the Normans, who not long before first took them: but most noted with De such a place, as Godefridus de Mannevilla; A. de Grey; Walterus de Vernon; Robert de Oily, now Doyly; Albericius de Vere; Radulphus de Pomerey; Goscelinus de Dive; Robertus de Busse; Guilielmus de Moium; R. de Braiose; Rogerus de Lacy; Gislebertus de Venables: or with Filius, as Ranulphus filius Asculphi; Guilielmus filius Osberni; Richardus filius Gisleberti: or else with the name of their office, as Eudo Dapifer; Guil. Camerarius; Hervæus Legatus; Gislebertus Cocus; Radulphus Venator: but very many with their Christian names only, as Olaff, Nigellus, Eustachius, Baldricus, with single names, are noted last in every Shire as men of least account, and as all, or most, underholders specified in that Book.

But shortly after, as the Romans of better fort had three names according to that of Juvenal "*Tanquam habeas tria nomina*," and that of Ausonius, "*Tria nomina nobiliorum*:" So it seemed a disgrace for a Gentleman to have but one single name, as the meaner sort and bastards had. For the daughter and heir of Fitz Hamon, a great Lord, (as Robert of Gloucester, in the Library of the industrious Antiquary Master John Stow writeth,) when King Henry the First would have married her to his base son Robert, she first refusing answered:

Vide Politi-
anum.
Miscell.
lib. 32.

"It were to me a great shame,
To have a Lord withouten his two name."

Whereupon the King his father gave him the name of Fitz Roy, who after was Earl of Gloucester, and the only Worthy of his Age in England.

To reduce surnames to a Method is matter for a Ramist,¹ who should haply find it to be a Typocosmy: I will plainly set down from whence the most have been deduced, as far as I can conceive, hoping to incur no offence herein with any person, when I protest in all sincerity, that I purpose nothing less than to wrong any whosoever. The end of this scribbling labour tending only to maintain the honour of our names against some Italianated, who, admiring strange names, do disdainfully condemn their own Country names, which I doubt not but I shall effect with the learned and judicious, to whom I submit all that I shall write.

The most surnames in number, the most ancient and of best account, have been local, deduced from places in Normandy, and the Countries confining, being either the patrimonial possessions, or native places of such as served the Conquerour, or came in after out of Normandy; as Mortimer, Warren, Albigny, Percy, Gournay, Devereux, Tankervil, Saint Lo, Argentine, Marmion, Saint Maure, Bracy, Maigny, Nevil, Ferrers, Harecourt, Baskerville, Mortaign, Tracy, Beaufo, Valoyns, Cayly, Lucy, Montfort, Bonvile, Bovil, Auranch, &c. Neither is there any Village in Normandy that gave not denomination to some Family in England; in which number are all names having the French *De, Du, Des, De la* prefixt, and beginning or ending with *Font, Fant, Beau, Saint, Mont, Bois, Aux, Eux, Vall, Vaux, Cort, Court, Fort, Champ, and Vill*, which is corruptly turned in some into *Feld*, as in

¹ The Ramists were the followers of Peter Ramus, whose anti-Aristotelian logic raised a great commotion in the University of Paris. He was killed in the Bartholomew massacre, 1572.

Baskerfeld, Somerfeld, Dangerfeld, Turblefeld, Greenfeld, Sackfeld ; for Baskervil, Somervil, Dangervil, Turbervil, Greenvil, Sackvil ; and in others into Well, as Boswell for Bossevil, Freshwel for Freshvil. As that I may note in passage, the Polonian Nobility take their names from places adding Skie or Ki thereunto.

Mart. Cramarus.

Out of places in Britain came the Families of Saint Aubin, Morley, Dinant, lately called Dinham ; as also of Dole, Balun, Conquest, Valtort, Lascells, Bluet, &c.

Out of other parts of France, from places of the same names, came Courtney, Corby, Bollein, Crevecuer, Saint Leger, Bohun, Saint George, Saint Andrew, Chaworth, Saint Quintin, Gorges, Villiers, Cromar, Paris, Reims, Cressy, Fimes, Beaumont, Coignac, Lyons, Chalons, Chaloner, Estampes, or Stampes, and many more.

Out of the Netherlands came the names of Lovaine, Gaunt, Ipres, Bruges, Malines, Odingsfels, Tournay, Doway, Buers, Beke ; and in later Ages Dabridgecourt, Robsert, Many, Grandison, &c.

From places in England and Scotland infinite likewise. For every Town, Village, or Hamlet hath afforded names to Families ; as Derbyshire, Lancashire, (do not look that I should, as the Nomenclators in old time, marshal every name according to his place) Effex, Murray, Clifford, Stafford, Barkley, Leigh, Lea, Hastings, Hamleton, Gordon, Lumley, Douglas, Booth, Clinton, Heydon, Cleydon, Hicham, Henningham, Popham, Ratcliffe, Markham, Seaton, Framingham, Pagrave, Cotton, Carie, Hume, Poinings, Goring, Prideaux, Windsor, Hardes, Stanhope, Sydenham, Needham, Dimoc, Winnington, Allington, Dacre, Thaxton, Whitney, Willoughby, Apeley, Crew, Knivetem, Wentworth,

Fanhaw, Woderington, Manwood, Fetherston ;
And lastly, Penruddock, Tremain, Trevoire, Killi-
grew, Roscarrec, Carminow, and most families in
Cornwall, of whom I have heard this Rythme :

“By Tre, Ros, Pol, Lan, Caer, and Pen,
You may know the most Cornish men.”

Which signifie a Town, a Heath, a Pool, a
Church, a Castle, or City, and a Foreland, or Pro-
montory.

In like sort many names among the Romans were
taken from places, as Tarquinius, Gabinus, Volscius,
Vatinius, Norbanus, from Tarquini, Gabii, Volsci,
Vatia, Norba, Towns in Italie, as Sigonius and
others before him have observed ; and likewise
Amerinus, Carrinas, Mecenas, as Varro noteth.
So Ruricius, Fonteius, Fundanus, Agellius, &c.
Generally, all these following are local names, and
all which have their beginning or termination in
them, the significations whereof, for the most part,
are commonly known. To the rest now unknown,
I will adjoyn somewhat briefly out of Alfricus and
others, reserving a more ample explication to his
proper place.¹

<i>Abent</i> , a steep place.	<i>Bach</i> , the same with
<i>Aker</i> , drawn from the	Bec a River, [Mun-
Latine Ager.	ster.]
<i>Ay</i> , vide Eye.	<i>Bain</i> , a Bathe.
B.	<i>Banck</i> .
	<i>Barn</i> .
<i>Bac</i> , French, a Ferry.	<i>Barrow</i> , vide <i>Burrow</i> .

¹ Verstegan gives a similar list derived from trivial localities,
and a third will be found in my English Surnames, vol. 1, p. 62.

Bathe.

Bach.

Beam, a Trunck, or stock of a tree.

Beak or *Bec* (as *Bach*) used in the North.

Bent, a place where rushes grow.

Bearn, a wood, *Beda*, lib. 4, cap. 2.

Berton, or *Barton*.

Berry, a Court. Others make it a hill from the Dutch word, *Berg*, some take it to be the same with *Burrew*, and only varied in Dialect.

Beorh, *Acervus*, as *Stane Beorh*, *Lapidum acervus*.

Biggin, a building.

Bold, from the Dutch

Bol, a Fenne.

Bye, from the Hebrew *Beth*, an habitation. (*Alfricus*).¹

Bois, Fr. a Wood.

Borough, from the Latine *Burgus*, a fortified place or defence, pro-

nounced in the South parts *Bury*, in other *Burgh* and *Brough*, and often *Berry* and *Barrow*. *Alfricus*.

Born or *Burn*, a River.

Bottle, a house in the North parts. *Alfricus* turneth it *Ædes*, and *Ædilis*, *Bottleward*.

Booth.

Bridge.

Brome-field.

Brunn, a Fountain from *Burn*.²

Briewr, Fr. an Heath.

Brough. See *Burrough*.

Bury. See *Burrow*.

Burgh. See *Burrough*.

Burn, vide *Born*.

Bush.

Buts.

C.

Caer, Brit. a fortified Place or City.

Campe.

Capell, the same with *Chapell*.³

Car, a low watery place where *Alders* do grow, or a *Poel*.

¹ *By*, a dwelling. Danish.

² More probably from the Fr. *brun*, referring to complexion.

³ But *Capel* is a parish in Surrey; also a strong horse. Lat. *Cabellus*.

- Carnes*, the same with stones.
Castell.
Caster, Chester, Cester, Chaster, the same varied in Dialect, a City or walled place derived from *Castrum*.
Cave.
Church.
Chancel.
Chapel.
Chase.
Cley, or *Clay*.
Cove, a small creek.
Cliffe, and *Cleve*.
Clough, a deep descent between hills.
Cob, a forced harbour for Ships, as the Cob of Linne in Dorsetshire.
Cope, the top of a high hill.
Combe, a word in use both in France and England for a valley between two high hills. Nicotius.
Cote.
Court.
Covert, French, a shadowed place or shade.
Cragge.
Creeke.
Croft, Translated by Abbo Floriacensis in *Prædium*, a Farm. Our Ancestours would say proverbially of a very poor man, that "He had ne Toft ne Croft."
Crofs.
D.
Dale.
Delle, a dike.
Dene, a small valley, contrary to *Doun*.
Deepes.
Derne. See *Terne*.
Ditch, or dish.
Dike.
Dook.
Don, corruptly sometime for Ton, or Town.
Don, and *Doun*, all one, varied in pronunciation: a high hill, or Mount. [Alfricus.]
E.
Efter, a walk.
Ende.
Ey, a watery place, as the Germans use now
Aw. Ortellius. Alfricus translateth *Amanis* into *Ea* or *Eye*.
F.
Farm.
Field.
Fell, Sax. Craggs, barren and stony hills.

*Fenn.**Fleet*, a small stream.*Fold.**Ford.**Forrest.**Foot.**Font*, or *Funt*, a spring.*Frith*, a plain amidst woods; but in Scotland a streight between two lands, from the Latine *Fretum*.

G.

Garnet, a great Granary.*Garden.**Garth*, a yard.*Gate.**Gill*, a small water.*Glin*, Welsh, a dale.*Gorst*, bushes.*Grange*, Fr. a barn (*Nicotius*).*Grave*, a ditch or trench, or rather a wood, for in that sence I have read *Grava* in old deeds.*Gravet*, the same with *Grove*.*Green.**Grove.*

H.

Hale, or *Haule*, from the Latine *Aula* in some names turned into *All*.*Ham*, *Mansio* [Beda], which we call now Home, or house; often abridged into *Am*.*Hatch.**Hawgh*, or *Howgh*, a green plot in a valley, as they use it in the North.*Hay*, Fr. a hedge.*Head*, and *Heueth*, a Foreland, Promontory, or high place.*Headge.**Heath.**Herst.* See *Hurst*.*Herne*, Sax. a house. Beda, who translates *Whithern*, *Candida casa*.*Hith*, a haven. [Alfricus.]*Hide*, so much Land as one plough can plow in a year.*Hill*, often in composition changed into *Hull* and *Ell*.*Holme*, plain grassie ground upon water sides or in the water.*Holt*, a wood, *Nemus*. [Alfricus.]*Hold*, a tenement, or the same with *Holt*.*Hope*, the side of an hill;

- but in the North, a low ground amidst the tops of hills.
- How*, or *Hoo*, an high place.
- Horn*. See *Hurn*.
- House*.
- Hull*. See *Hill*.
- Hunt*.
- Hurn*, or *Hyrn*, a corner. [Alfricus.]
- Hurst*, or *Herst*, a wood.
- I.
- Ing*, a Meadow or low ground [Ingulphus]; and the Danes still use it.
- Isle*, or *Ile*.
- K.
- Kay*, a landing place, a wharf; the old Glossary *Kaii*, *Cancelli*.
- Kap*.
- Knoll*, the top of a hill.
- Kyrk*, a Church, from the Greek *Kuriace*—that is, the Lord's house.
- L.
- Lade* (a word usual in the Fens), Passage of waters. *Aquæductus*, in the old Glossary, is translated *Water-lada*.
- Lake*.
- Land*, [a heath].
- Lane*.
- Lath*, a Barn among them of Lincolnshire.
- Laund*, a plain among trees.
- Law*, a hill; in use among the hither Scottish men.
- Le*, Brit. a place.
- Ley*, and *Leigh*, the fame, or a pasture.
- L'lys*, Brit. a place.
- Lode*. See *Lade*.
- Lock*, a place where Rivers are stopped, or a Lake, as the word is used in the North parts.
- Loppe* [Salebra], an uneven place which cannot be passed without leaping.
- Lound*, the fame with *Laund*.
- M.
- March*, a limit, or confines.
- Market*.
- Mead*.
- Meadow*.
- Mees*, Medows.
- Mere*.
- Mersh*.

Mesnil, or *Menil*, in Norman French, a mansion house.

Mill.

Myne.

Minster, contracted from *Monastery*; in the North *Mouster*, in the South *Mister*.

More.

Mofs.

Mote.

Mouth, where a River falleth into the Sea, or into another water.

N.

Nefs, a promontory, for that it runneth into the Sea as a nose.

Nore, the same with North.

O.

Orchard.

Over, and contractly *Ore*.

P.

Pace.

Parke.

Pen, Brit. the top of an hill or mountain.

Pitts.

Place.

Plat, Fr. Plain ground.

Playn.

Pole.

Pond.

Port.

Pownd.

Prey, Fr. a Meadow.

Prindle, the same with Croft.

Q.

Quarry.

R.

Reyke.

Ridge, and *Rig*.

Ring, an enclosure.

Road.

Row, Fr. a street; *Raw* in the North.

Ros, Brit. a Heath.

Ry, Fr. from Rive, a shore, coast, or bank.

Rill, a small brook.

Rithy, Brit. from Rith, a Ford.

S.

Sale, Fr. a Hall, an entrance. [Junius.]

Sand, or *Sands*.

Scarr, a craggy, stony hill.

Sett, Habitation or seat. [Ortelius.]

Schell, a spring. See *Skell*.

Shaw, many trees near together, or shadow of trees.

Shallow.

Sheal, a cottage, or shelter; the word is usual in the wastes of Northumberland and Cumberland.

Shore.

Shot, or *Shut*, a Keep. [Munster.]

Skell, a Well in the old Northern English.

Slade.

Slow, a miry foul place.

Smeth, a smooth plain field; a word usual in Norfolk and Suffolk.

Sole, a Poole.

Spir, Pyramis, a shaft to the old English, or spire steeple.

Spring.

Stake.

Strand, a bank of a river.

Stret.

Stroad, *Stroud*: as some do think, the same with *Strand*.

Stable, as *Stale*.

Stale and *Staple*, the same; a storehouse.

Staple, a Mart Town for merchandise.

Sted, from the Dutch *Stadt*, a standing place, a station.

Steeple.

Stey, a bank. [Alfricus.]

Stige, or *Stie*, a footpath.

Stile.

Stock.

Stoke, the same with *Stow*.

Stone, or *Stane*.

Stow, a place. [Alfricus.]

Straight, a vale along a river.

Syde.

T.

Temple.

Tern, or *Dern*, a standing pool, a word usual in the North.

Thorn.

Thorp, from the Dutch, *Dorpe*, a Village.

Thurn, a Tower. [Ortelius.]

Thwait, a word only used in the North, in addition of Towns: Some take it for a pasture from the Dutch *Hwoit*.¹

Toft, a parcel of ground where there hath bin

¹ This Dano-English word appears to be connected with the A.-Sax. *Thwitan*, to cut, and signifies a forest clearing. See Worfaal's "Danes in England."

a house : but for <i>Toft</i>	<i>Water.</i>
and <i>Croft</i> enquire of	<i>Way.</i>
Lawyers.	<i>Wick</i> and <i>Wich</i> , i.e.
<i>Tor</i> , a high place, or	shore, the curving or
tower.	reach of a River or
<i>Tre</i> , Brittiſh from <i>Tref</i> ,	Sea. Junius Rhenanus.
a Town.	But our Alfric, and
<i>Trench.</i>	ſo Tillius maketh it a
<i>Tree.</i>	Caſtle, or little Port.
	<i>Wich</i> (i.e. Long) a ſalt
V.	ſpring.
<i>Vale</i> , a Valley.	<i>Well.</i>
<i>Vaulx</i> , the ſame in	<i>Wild.</i>
French.	<i>Would</i> , Hills without
<i>Upp.</i>	wood.
<i>Under.</i>	<i>Wood.</i>
W.	<i>Worth</i> , anciently <i>Werth</i>
<i>Wald</i> , a Wood ; the ſame	and <i>Weorthid</i> : Al-
with <i>Wild</i> .	fricus makes it <i>Præ-</i>
<i>Wall.</i>	<i>dium</i> , a poſſeſſion or
<i>Ware</i> , or <i>Wear</i> .	Farm : Abbo tranſ-
<i>Wark</i> , or <i>Werk</i> , a work	lateth it, a court or
or building.	place : Killianus, a
<i>Warren.</i>	Fort and an Iſle.
<i>Waſt</i> , a Defart or ſolitary	
place.	Y.
<i>Waſh.</i>	<i>Yard.</i>
<i>Wath</i> , a foord ; a word	<i>Yate</i> , or <i>Yates</i> .
uſual in Yorkſhire.	

At a word, all which in Engliſh had Of ſet before them, which in Cheſhire and the North was contracted into A, as Thomas a Dutton, John a Standiſh, Adam a Kirby ; and all which in Latine old Evidences have had De prefixed, as all heretofore ſpecified, were borrowed from places. As

those which had *Le* set before them were not all local, but given in other respects, as *Le Marthal*, *Le Latimer*, *Le Despencer*, *Le Scroop*, *Le Savage*, *Le Vavafour*, *Le Strange*, *Le Norice*, *Le Escrivan*, *Le Blund*, *Le Molineux*, *Le Bret*. As they also which were never noted with *De* or *Le*, in which number I have observed, *Giffard*, *Bassett*, *Arundel*, *Howard*, *Talbot*, *Bellot*, *Bigot*, *Bagot*, *Taileboise*, *Talemach*, *Gervon*, *Lovel*, *Lovet*, *Fortescu*, *Pancevot*, *Tirel*, *Blund* or *Blunt*, *Bisset*, *Bacum*, &c. And these distinctions of local names with *De*, and other with *Le*, or simply, were religiously observed in Records until about the time of King Edward the Fourth.

Neither was there, as I said before, or is there, any Town, Village, Hamlet, or place in England, but hath made names to Families; so that many names are local which do not seem so, because the places are unknown to most men, and all known to no one man: as who would imagine *Whitegift*, *Powlet*, *Bacon*, *Creping*, *Alhor*, *Tirwhit*, *Antrobus*, *Heather*, *Hartshorn*, and many such like to be local names? and yet most certainly they are.

Many also are so changed by corruption of speech, and altered so strangely to significative words by the common sort, who desire to make all to be significative, as they seem nothing less than local names; as *Wormwood*, *Inkepen*, *Tiptown*, *Moon*, *Manners*, *Drinkwater*, *Cuckold*, *Goddolphin*, *Hurlestone*, *Waites*, *Smalback*, *Loscotte*, *Devil*, *Neithermil*, *Bellowses*, *Filpot*, *Wodill*, &c., for *Ormund*, *Ingepen*, *Tiptoft*, *Mohune*, *Manors*, *Derwentwater*, *Coxwold*, *Godalchan*, *Huddleston*, *Thwaits*, *Smalbach*, *Luscot*, *D'avill*, or *D'Eivill*, *Nettervill*, *Bell-houise*, *Phillipot*, *Wahul*, &c.

Neither is it to be omitted that many local

names had *At* prefixed before them in old Evidences; *At More*, *At Slow*, *At Ho*, *At Bower*, *At Wood*, *At Down*, &c.; which *At* as it hath been removed from some, so hath it been conjoyned to others, as *Atwood*, *Atflow*, *Atho*, *Atwell*, *Atmor*. As *S* also is joyned to most now, as *Manors*, *Knoles*, *Crofts*, *Yates*, *Gates*, *Thorns*, *Groves*, *Hills*, *Combes*, *Holmes*, *Stokes*, &c.

Rivers also have imposed names to some men, as they have to Towns situated on them; as the old Baron *Sur Teys*, that is, on the River *Teys*, running between *Yorkshire* and the Bishoprick of *Durresme*; *Derwent-water*, *Eden*, *Troutbeck*, *Hartgill*, *Efgill*, *Wampull*, *Swale*, *Stoure*, *Temes*, *Trent*, *Tamer*, *Grant*, *Tine*, *Croc*, *Lone*, *Lun*, *Calder*, &c.; as some at *Rome* were called *Tiberii*, *Anieni*, *Aufidii*, &c. because they were born near the Rivers *Tibris*, *Anien*, *Aufidus*, as *Julius Paris* noteth.

Divers also had names from trees near their habitations, as *Oake*, *Aspe*, *Box*, *Alder*, *Elder*, *Beach*, *Coigners*, that is, *Quince*, *Zouch*, that is, the trunk of a tree; *Curfy* and *Curson*, the stock of a *Vine*, *Pine*, *Plumb*, *Chefney* or *Cheyney*, that is, *Oke*; *Dauney*, that is, *Alder*; *Foulgiers*, that is, *Fearne*; *Vine*, *Ashe*, *Hawthorne*, *Furres*, *Bush*, *Hasle*; *Couldray*, that is, *Haslewood*; *Bucke*, that is *Beech*; *Willowes*, *Thorne*, *Broome*, *Block*, &c. which in former time had *At* prefixed, as at *Beech*, at *Furres*, at *Ashe*, at *Elme*. And here is to be noted that divers of this sort have been strangely contracted, as at *Ashe*, into *Tash*, at *Oke* into *Toke*, at *Abbey* into *Tabbey*, *At the End* into *Thend*; as in *Saints' names*, *Saint Olye*, into *Toly*,¹ *Saint*

¹ *Tooley Street*, in *Southwark*, is a corruption of *St. Olave's Street*, and *Tulley's Well*, a farm near *Lewes*, of *St. Olave's Well*.

Ebbe into Saint Tabbe, Saint Ofyth into Saint Towfes and Saint Sithe.

Many strangers coming hither, and refiding here, were named of their Countries, as Picard, Scot, Lombard, Flemming, French; Bigod, that is, fuperftitious, or Norman (for fo the French men called the Normans, becaufe at every other word they would fwear By God): Bretton, Britain, Bret, Burgoin, Germain, Weftphaling, Dane, Daneis, Man, Gaſcoigne, Welch, Walfh, Walley's, Irish, Corniſh, Corn-Wallis, Eaſterling, Maine, Champ-neis, Potievin, Angevin, Loring, that is, de Lotharingia, &c. And theſe had commonly Le prefixed in Records and in Writings, as Le Flemmings, Le Picard, Le Bret, &c. viz. the Flemming, the Picard.

In reſpect of ſituation to other near places riſe theſe uſual names, Norrey, North, South, Eaſt, Weſt, and likewise Northcote, Southcote, Eaſtcote, Weſtcote: which alſo had originally At ſet before them. Yea, the names of Kitchin, Hall, Sellar, Parler, Church, Lodge, &c. may ſeem to have been borrowed from the places of birth, or moſt frequent abode; as among the Greeks, Anatolius, *i.e.* Eaſt; Zephyrius, *i.e.* Weſt, &c.

Whereas therefore theſe local denominations of Families are of no great antiquity, I cannot yet ſee why men ſhould think that their Anceſtours gave names to places, when the places bare thoſe very names before any men did their Surnames. Yea, the very terminations of the names are ſuch as are only proper and applicable to places, and not to perſons in their ſignifications, if any will mark the local terminations, which I lately ſpecified. Who would ſuppoſe Hill, Wood, Field, Ford, Ditch, Poole, Pond, Tower, or Tor, and ſuch like terminations, to be convenient for men to bear their names, unleſs they

could also dream Hills, Woods, Fields, Fords, Ponds, Pounds, &c. to have been metamorphosed into men by some supernatural transformation?

And I doubt not but they will confess that Towns stand longer than Families continue.

It may also be proved that many places which now have Lords denominated of them, had Lords and owners of other Surnames and Families not many hundred years since. But a sufficient proof it is of ancient descent, where the Inhabitant had his surname of the place where he inhabiteth, as Compton, of Compton; Yerringham, of Yerringham; Egerton, of Egerton; Portington, of Portington; Skeffington, of Skeffington; Beeston, of Beeston, &c.

I know, nevertheless, that albeit most Towns have borrowed their names from their situation, and other respects; yet some with apt terminations have their names from men, as Edwarston, Alfredston, Ubsford, Malmesbury, corruptly for Maidulphsbury.¹ But these names were from fore-names or Christian names, and not from surnames. For Ingulphus plainly sheweth that Wiburton and Leffrington were so named, because two Knights, Wiburt and Leofric, there sometimes inhabited. But if any should affirm that the Gentlemen named Leffrington, Wiburton, Lancaster, or Leicester, Boffevill, or Shordich, gave their names to the places so named, I would humbly, without prejudice, crave respite for a further day before I believed them. And to say as I think, verily when they shall better advise themselves, and mark well the terminations of these and such like Local names, they will not press me over eagerly herein.

Page 49, 2.

¹ See on this subject a passage in Wright's History of Ludlow.

Notwithstanding, certain it is that Surnames of Families have been adjoynd to the names of places for distinction, or to notifie the owner, as Melton Mowbray, Higham-Ferrers, Minster-Lovell, Stansted Rivers, Drayton Bassett, Kibworth Beauchamp, &c. for that they were the possessions of Mowbray, Ferrers, Lovell, &c. Neither do I deny but some among us in former time, as well as now, dreaming of the immortality of their names, have named their Houses after their own names, as Camois-Court, Hamons, Bretes, Bailies, Theobaldes, when as now they have possessors of other names. And the old Verse is, and always will be verified of them, which a right worshipful friend of mine not long since writ upon his new house :

“Nunc mea, mox hujus, sed postea nescio cujus.”

Neither must all, having their names from places, suppose that their Ancestours were either Lords, or possessors of them ; but may assure themselves that they originally came from them, or were born at them. But the Germans and Polonians do clear this error by placing In before the Local names, if they are possessors of the place, or Of, if they only were born at them, as Martinus Gromerus noteth. The like also seemeth to be in use in the Marches of Scotland, for there you shall have Trotter of Folfhaw, and Trotter in Fogo ; Haitly of Haitly, and Haitly in Haitly.

Whereas since the time of King Henry the Third the Princes Children took names from their natal places, as Edward of Carnarvon, Thomas of Brotherton, Joane of Acres, Edmund of Woodstocke, and John of Gaunt (who named his Children by Cath. Swinford, Beaufort, of a place in France belonging to the House of Lancaster), it is nothing

to our purpose to make further mention of them, when as they never descended to their posterity.

After these local names the most names in number have been derived from Occupations or Professions, as Taylor, Potter, Smith, Sadler, Arblaster, that is, *Balistarius*, Archer, Taverner, Chaufer, *i.e.* Hosier, Weaver, Pointer, Painter, Walker, *id est*, Fuller in Old English; Baker, Baxter, *Boulenger*, all one in signification, Collier, Carpenter, Joyner, Salter, Armorer, Spicer, Grocer, Monger, *id est*, Chapman; Brewer, Brasier, Webster, Wheeler, Wright, Cartwright, Shipwright, Banister, *id est*, Balneator; Forbisher, Farrar, Goff, *id est*, Smith in Welsh. And most which end in Er in our tongue, as among the Latines, Artificers' names have arius, as Lintearius, Vestiarius, Calcearius, &c. or eo or io for their terminations, as Linteo, Pellio, Phrygio.

Neither was there any trade, craft, art, profession, or occupation never so mean, but had a name among us commonly ending in Er, and men accordingly denominated; but some are worn out of use, and therefore the significations are unknown, and others have been mollified ridiculously by the bearers, lest they should seem vilified by them. And yet the like names were among the noble Romans, as Figulus, Pictor, Fabritius, Scribonius, Salinator, Rusticus, Agricola, Carbo, Funarius, &c. And who can deny but they so named may be Gentlemen, if Vertue, which is the soul of Gentry, shall ennoble them, and Virtus (as one saith) "*nulli præculsa est, omnibus patet.*" Albeit Doctor Turner in a book against Stephen Gardiner saith the contrary, exemplifying of their own names. At which time, wise was the man that told my Lord bishop that his name was not Gardiner, as the English pronounce it, but Gardiner, with the French accent, and therefore a Gentleman.

Hitherto may be referred many that end in Man, as Tubman, Carreman, Coachman, Ferriman, Clothman, Chapman, Spelman, *id est*, Learned man, Palfriman, Horseman, &c.

Many have been assumed from offices, as Chambers,¹ Chamberlaine, Cooke, Spenser, that is, Steward, Marshal; Latimer, that is, Interpreter; Staller, that is, Constable or Standard-bearer; Reeve, Woodreeve, Sherife, Sergeant, Parker, Foster, that is, Nourisher; Forester contractly Forster, Hunter; Kempe, that is, Souldier in old English; (for Alfricus translateth Tyro, Yong-Kempe) Faulconer, Fowler, Page, Butler, Clark, Proctor, Spigurnel, that is, a sealer of Writs, which office was hereditary for a time to the Bohunes of Midherst; Bailive, Francklin, Leech, Warder, *i. e.* Keeper; and from thence Woodward, Millward, Steward, Dooreward, that is, Porter, Beareward, Heyward, Hereward, that is, Conserver of the army. Bond, that is, Paterfamilias, as it is in the book of old terms belonging sometimes to Saint Augustins in Canterbury, and we retain it in the compound Husband. In which book also Horden is interpreted a Steward.

Esteine de
Cypre.

Likewise from Ecclesiastical functions, as Bishop, Abbot, Priest, Monk, Dean, Deacon, Arch-deacon, which might seem to be imposed in such respect, as the surname Archevesque or Arch-bishop was upon Hugh de Lusignian in France, who (when by the death of his brethren the Signieuries of Partnay, Soubize, &c. were fallen to him) was dispensed by the Pope to marry, on condition that his posterity should bear the surname of Archevesque and a Mitre over their Arms for ever: which to this day is continued.

Names also have been taken of civil honours,

¹ This was originally de la Chambre-Chamberlain.

dignities and estate, as King, Duke, Prince, Lord, Baron, Knight, Valvafor, or Vavafor, Squire, Castellan, partly for that their ancestours were such, served such, acted such parts, or were Kings of the Bean, Christmas-Lords, &c. And the like names we read among the Greeks and Romans, as Basilus, Archias, Archilaus, Regulus, Flaminus, Cæfarius, Augustulus, who, notwithstanding, were neither Kings, Priests, Dukes, or Cæsars.

Others from the qualities of the mind, as Good, Thoroughgood, Goodman, Goodchild, Wise, Hardie, Plaine, Light, Meek, Bold, Best, Prowd, Sharp, Still, Sweet, Speed, Quick, Sute. As those old Saxon names, Shire, that is, Clear; Dire, that is, well-beloved: Blith, that is, merry: Drury, that is, jewel. Also these French names, Galliard, that is, Frolick: Mufard, that is, Delayer; Bland, that is, Faire-spoken; Coigne, that is, Valiant; Baud, that is, Pleasant; Barrat, Rus, Russh, that is, Subtile, and so is Prat in the old book of Peterborough: Huttin, that is, Mutiner. As among the Grecians Agathias, Andragathius, Sophocles, Eubulus, Eumenius, Thraseas: Among the Romans, Prudentius, Lepidus, Cato, Pius, Valens, Constans, Asper, Tacitus, Dulcitus, &c.

Chaucer.

And accordingly names were borrowed, as Plutarch saith, from the nature of the man, from his actions, from some mark, form or deformity of his body, as Macrinus, that is, Long; Torquatus, that is, Chained; Sulla, that is, White and Red: And in like sort Mnemon, that is, Mindful; Grypus, that is, Hawks-nose; Callinicus, that is, Fair Victor.

Plutarch.
in Mario
& Sylla.

From the habitudes of body, and the perfections or imperfections thereof, many names have been imposed, as Strong, Armstrong, Long, Low, Short,

Broad, Bigge, Little, Faire, Goodbody, Freebody, Bell, that is, Faire ; Bellon, that is, Bellulus, proper in French ; Helder, that is Thinne ; Heile, that is Healthful ; Fairefax, that is, Fair-locks in ancient English, Whitlocks, &c. As those British names still in use among us, Vachan, that is, Little ; Moel, that is, Bald ; Gam, that is, Crooked ; Fane, that is, Slender ; Grim, that is Strong ; Krich, that is, Curlepate ; Grig, or Krig, that is, Hoarse. No more to be disliked than these Greek and Roman names, Nero, that is, Strong, as also Romulus, Longus, Longinus, Minutius, Macros, Megasthenes, Calistus, Calisthenes, Paulus, Cincinnatus, Crispus, Calvus ; Terentius, that is, tender, according to Varro ; Gracchus, that is, Thinne ; Bassus, that is, Fat ; Salustius, that is, Healthful ; and Cocles, one eye. As Papirius Mafonius reporteth, that Philippus Augustus, King of France, was furnamed Borgne for his blinking with one eye.

Others in respect of age have received names, as Young, Old, Baby, Child, Stripling ; as with the Romans, Senecio, Priscus, Juvenalis, Junius, Virginius, &c.

Some from the time wherein they were born, as Winter, Summer, Christmas, Day, May, Sunday, Holiday, Munday, Paschall, Noel, Pentecost : as in the ancient Romans, Januarius, Martius, Manius, Lucius, Festus : and Vergilius, born at the rising of the Vergiliæ, or seven stars, as Pontanus learnedly writeth against them which write his name Virgilius.

Claud
Fauchet.

Some from that which they commonly carryed, as Palmer, in regard that Pilgrims carryed Palme when they returned from Hierusalem : Long Sword, Broad-spear, Fortescu, that is, Strong shield ; and

in some such respect Break-speare, Shake-speare, Shot-bolt, Wagstaffe, Bagot, in the old Norman ; the same with Scipio, that is, a stay or walking staffe with the Latines, which became a surname, for that Cornelius served as a stay to his blind father. Likewise Billman, Hookeman, Talvas, of a shield so called, whereof William, son of Robert de Belesme, E. of Shrewsbury, had his name.

Some from parts of the body, as Head, Red-head, White-head, Legg, Foot, Pollard, Arm, Hand, Lips, Heart ; as Corculum, Capito, Pedro, Labeo, Naso, among the Romans.

Garments also have occasioned names, as Hose, Hofatus, Hat, Cap, Frock, Peticote, Catcote : as with the Romans, Caligula, Caracalla, Fimbria ; and Hugh Capet, from whom this last house of France descended, was so called, for that he used when he was young, to snatch off his fellows' caps, if we believe Du Tillet.

Not a few from colours of their complexions, garments, or otherwise, have gotten names, as White, Black, Brown, Red, Green, and those Norman names, Rous, that is, Red, Blunt or Blund, that is, Flaxen hair, and from these Russel and Blundel ; Gris, that is, Grey ; Pigot, that is, Speckled ; Blanch and Blanc, that is, White ; with those British or Welsh names, who, whereas they were wont to depaint themselves with sundry colours, have also borrowed many names from the said colours, as Gogh, that is, Red ; Gwin, that is, White ; Dee, that is, Black ; Lhuid or Flud, that is, Ruffet ; Names to be no more disliked than Albinus, Candidus, Flavius, Fulvius, Fuscus, Burrhus, Cocceius, Rutilius, Rufus, Niger, Nigrinus, among the Romans ; and Pirrus, Chlorus, Leucagus, Chryses, Melanthius, &c. among the Grecians.

Some from flowers and fruits, as Lilly, Lis, Rose, Peare, Nut, Filbert, Peach, Pescod, Petch, as fair names, as Lentulus, Pifo, Fabius, among the Romans. Others from beasts, as Lamb, Lion, Boar, Bear, Buck, Hind, Hound, Fox, Wolf, Hare, Hog, Roe, Broc, Badger, &c. Neither are these and such like to be disliked, when, as amongst the noblest Romans, Leo, Urficinus, Catulus, Lupus, Leporius, Aper, Apronius, Caninius, Castor, &c. and Cyrus, that is, Dog, with the Persians were very usual.

From fishes likewise, as Playce, Salmon, Trowt, Cub, Gurnard, Herring, Pike, Pikerell, Breme, Burt, Whiting, Crab, Sole, Mullet, Base, &c. nothing inferiour to the Roman names, Muræna, Phocas, Orata, that is, Gilthed, &c. for that haply they loved those fishes more than other.

Many have been derived from birds as Corbet, that is, Raven; Arondell, that is, Swallow; the gentlemen of which name do bear those birds in their Coat-armours; Bisset, *i.e.* Dove, Lark, Tiffon, Chaffinch, Nitingal, Jaycock, Peacock, Sparrow, Swan, Crow, Woodcock, Eagle, Alcocke, Wilcocke, Handcock, Hulet or Howlet, Wren, Gosling, Parrat, Wild-goose, Finch, Kite, &c. As good names as these, Corvinus, Aquilius, Milvius, Gallus, Picus, Falco, Livia, *i.e.* Stock-dove, &c. Therefore I cannot but wonder why one should so sadly marvel that such names of beasts and birds are in use in Congo in Africa, when they are and have been common in other Nations, as well as they were among the Traglodites inhabiting near Congo in former times.

Of Christian names, as they have been without change, many more have been made, as Francis, Herbert, Guy, Giles, Leonard, Michael, Lewis,

Lambert, Owen, Howel, Joscelin, Humfrey, Gilbert, Griffith, Griffin, Constantine, James, Thomas, Blaze, Anthony, Foulke, Godfrey, Gervas, Randal, Alexander, Charles, Daniel, &c.

Beside these, and such like, many surnames are derived from those Christian names which were in use about the time of the Conquest, and are found in the Record called Doomsday book, and elsewhere ; as Achard Alan, Alpheg, Aldelme, Aucher, Anselin, Anselm Ansger, Askaeth, Hascuith, Alberic, Bagot, Baldric, Bardolph, Belchard, Berenger, Berner, Biso, Brient, Canut, Knout, or Cnute, Carbonell, Chettel, Colf, Corbet, Corven, Crouch, Degory, Dod, Done, Donet, as it seems from Donatus ; Dru, Duncan, Durand, Eadid, Edolph, Egenulph, Elmer, Eudo or Ede ; Fabian, Fulcher, Gamelin, Gernogam, Girth, Goodwin, Godwin, Goodrich, Goodluck, Grime, Grimbald, Gauncelin, Guthlake, Haco or Hake, Hamon, Hamelin, Harding, Hastig, Herebrand, and many ending in Brand ; Herman, Hervy, Herward, Howard, Heward, Hubald, Hubert, Huldreich, Jollan, Joll, contractly from Julian ; Juo or Jue ; Kettell, Leofwin, Lewin, Levin, Liming, Macy, Maino, Mainerd, Meiler, Murdac, Nele, Norman, Oddo or Hode, Oger, Olave, Orfo or Urfo, Orme, Osborne, Other, Payn, Picotte, Pipard, Pontz, Puntz, Reyner, Remy, Rolph, Rotroc, Saer, Searl, Semar, Sewall, Sanchet, Siwald, Siward, Staverd, Star, Calf, Swain, Sperwick, Talbot, Toly, Tovy, Turgod, Turrold, Turstan, Turchill, Uctred or Oughthred, Ude, Vivian, Ulmer, Wade, Walarand, Wistan, Winoc, Walklin, Warner, Winebald, Wigod, Wigan, Wimarc, Woodnot, &c.

Brand, a
stirring up;
Junius.

And not only these from the Saxon and Normans, but also many Britain or Welsh Christian

names, as well in ancient time, as lately, have been taken up for surnames, when they came into England ; as Chun, Blethin, Kenham from Cynan or Conanus ; Gittin, Mervin, Bely, Sittfil or Gefil ; Caradoc, Madoc, Rhud, Ithell, Meric, Meredith, Edern, Bedow, from the English Bede, *i. e.* a devout prayer ; beside the Welsh Christian names usual and known to all. As in like manner many names were made from the Prænomena among the Romans, as Spurilius, Statilius, Titius, from Spurius, Statius, Titus. And as Quintilian saith, "*Agnomina et cognomina vim nominum obtinuerunt, et prænomena nomen.*"

Tillius. By contracting or rather corrupting of Christian names, we have Terry from Theodoric ; Frerry from Frederic ; Collin and Cole from Nicholas ; Tebald from Theobald ; Jessop from Joseph ; Aubry from Alberic ; Amery from Almeric ; Garret from Gerrard ; Nele from Nigel ; Elis from Elias ; Bets from Beatus ; as Bennet from Benedict, &c.

By addition of S to Christian names, many have been taken, as Williams, Rogers, Peters, Peirs, Davies, Harris, Roberts, Simonds, Guyes, Stevens, Richards, Hughs, Jones, &c.

From Nicknames or Nurfenames came these (pardon me if it offend any, for it is but my conjecture), Bill and Will for William ; Clem for Clement ; Nat for Nathaniel ; Mab for Abram ; Kit for Christopher ; Mund for Edmund ; Hal for Harry ; At and Atty for Arthur ; Cut for Cuthbert ; Mill for Miles ; Bauland Bald for Baldwin ; Ran and Randol ; Crips for Crispin ; Turk for Turktetil ; Sam for Sampson or Samuel ; Pipe for Pipard ; Gib and Gilpin for Gilbert ; Dan for Daniel ; Grig for Gregory ; Bat for Bartholomew ; Law for Lawrence ; Tim for Timothy ; Rol for Rolland ; Jeff for Jeffrey ;

Dun for Duncan or Dunstan ; Duke of Marma-
duke ; Daye for David ; God for Godfrey or God-
ard ; for otherwise I cannot imagine how that most
holy name, unfit for a man and not to be tolerated,
should be appropriate to any man ; and many such
like which you may learn of nurses.

By adding of S to these nicknames or nurse-
names, in all probability we have Robins, Nicks,
Nichols, Thoms, Dicks, Hicks, Wils, Sims, Sams,
Jocks, Jucks, Collins, Jenks, Munds, Hodges, Hobs,
Dobs, Saunders from Alexander ; Gibs and Gib-
bins from Gilbert ; Cuts from Cuthberd ; Bats from
Bartholomew ; Wats from Walter ; Philips from
Philip ; Hains from Anulphus (as some will) for
Ainulphesbury in Cambridgehire is contracted to
Ainsbury and such like.

Manylikewise have been made by adjoining Kins
and Ins to those nurse-names, making them in Kins
as it were diminutives, and those in Ins as Patronymica.
For so Alfric, Archbishop of Canterbury,
and the most ancient Saxon Grammarian of our
Nation, noteth that names taken from Progenitours
do end in Ins ; so Dickins, that is, little Dick ; Per-
kins from Peir or Peter, little Peter ; so Tompkins,
Wilkins, Hutchins, Huggins, Higgins and Hitchins,
from Hugh ; Lambkins from Lambert ; Hopkins
and Hobkins from Hob ; Dobbins and Robbins ;
Atkins from Arthur ; Simkins, Hodgekins, Hof-
kins, Watkins, Jenkins and Jennings from John ;
Gibbins and Gilpin from Gilbert ; Hulin from
Henry ; Wilkins from William ; Tipkins from
Tibald ; Daukins from Davy ; Rawlins from Raoul,
that is Rafe ; and Hankin for Randol, as is obser-
vable in Cheshire, in that ancient family of Man-
waring, and many others. In this manner did the
Romans vary names, as Constans, Constantius, Con-

stantinus ; Justus, Justulus, Justinus, Justinianus ; Aurelius, Aureolus, Aurelianus ; Augustus, Augustinus, Augustinianus, Augustulus, &c.

Beside these, there are also other diminutive names after the French Analogie in Et or Ot, as Willet from Will ; Haket from Hake ; Bartlet from Bartholomew ; Millet from Miles ; Huet from Hugh ; Allet from Allan ; Collet from Cole ; Guyet from Guy ; Eliot from Elias ; and Bekvet, that is, little sharp nose.

But many more, by addition of Son to the Christian or nickname of the father, as Williamson, Richardson, Dickson, Harryson, Gibson for Gilbertson ; Simson, Simondson, Stevenson, Daufon for Davison ; Morison, Lawson for Lawrenson ; Robinson, Cutberston, Nicholson, Tomson, Wilson, Leweson, Jobson, Waterston, Watfson, Peerston and Pierston, Peterston ; Hanston from Hankin ; Wilkinston, Daniston from Daniel ; Beniston and Benston from Bennet ; Deniston, Patiston from Patrick ; Jenkinston, Matiston from Matthew ; Colston from Cole or Nichol ; Rogerston, Heardston from Herdingston ; Hodgskinston, Hughston, Hulston from Huldric ; Hodston from Hod or Oddo ; Nelson from Neale or Nigell ; Davidston, Sanderson, Johnston, Raulston from Raoul or Ralf. So the ancient Romans used Publipor, Marcipor, Lucipor, for Publii puer, Marci puer, Luei puer, according to Varro : As afterwards in the Capitulin tables they were wont to note both Father and Grandfather for proof of their Gentry in abbreviations, as A. Sempronius, Auli filius, Lucii Nepos ; that is, Aulus Sempronius, son of Aulus, Grandchild or Nephew of Lucius ; C. Martius, L.F.C.N., &c. Neither is it true which some say, Omnia nomina in Son sunt Borealis generis, whenas it was usual in every part of the Realm.

Some also have had names from their Mothers, as Fitz-Parnell, Fitz-Isabel, Fitz-Mary, Fitz-Emme ; Maudlens, Sufans, Mawds, Grace, Emfon, &c. As Vespasian the Emperour, from Vespasia Polla his Mother, and Popæa Sabina the Empress from her Grandmother.

In the same fence it continueth yet in them which descended from the Normans ; Fitz-Hugh, Fitz-William, Fitz-Herbert, Fitz-Geffery, Fitz-Simon, Fitz-Alan, Fitz-Owen, Fitz-Randoll, being names taken from their Progenitours ; as among the Irish, Mac-William, Mac-Gone, Mac-Dermot, Mac-Mahon, Mac-Donell, Mac-Arti, *i.e.* the son of Arthur.

So among the Welsh-Britains likewise ; Ap-Robert, Ap-Evans, Ap-Ythel, Ap-Harry, Ap-Hugh, Ap-Rice, Ap-Richard, Ap-Howell, Ap-Enion, Ap-Owen, Ap-Henry, Ap-Rhud, which be contracted into Probert, Bevans, Bythell, Parry, Pugh, Price, Prichard, Powell, Benion, Bowen, Penrhye, Prud, &c.

So in the borders of England and Scotland ; Gawis Jok, for John the son of Gawin ; Richies Edward, for Edward the son of Richard ; Jony Riches Will, for William the son of John, son of Richard. The like I have heard to be in use among the meaner sort in Cornwall.

Dainty was the device of my Host at Grantham, which would wisely make a difference of degrees in persons by the termination of names in this word Son, as between Robertson, Robinson, Robson, Hobson ; Richardson, Dickson, and Dickinson ; Wilson, Williamson, and Wilkinson ; Jackson, Johnson, Jenkinson ; as though the one were more worshipful than the other by his degrees of comparison.

The names of alliance have also continued in some for surnames, as where they of one Family being of the same Christian name were for distinction called R. le Frere, Le Fitz, Le Cosin, that is Brother, the son, &c. ; all which passed in time into Surnames.

Pater
noster.

Many names also given in merriment for By-names or Nick-names have continued to Posterity ; as Malduit, for ill scholarship, or ill taught ; Mal-lieure, commonly Mallyvery, *i.e.* *Malus Leporarius*, for ill hunting the Hare ; Pater Noster, for devout praying ; as he that held Land by tenure to say a certain number of *Pater nosters* for the souls of the Kings of England was called Pater noster, and left that name to his Posterity. Certainly it remaineth upon Record by inquisition 27 Edwardi III. that Thom. Winchard held Land *in capite* in Coningeston, in the County of Leicester, by saying dayly five times *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria* for the souls of the King's Progenitours, and the souls of all the faithful departed, *pro omni servitio*. The Frenchman which craftily and cleanly conveyed himself and his prisoner T. Cryoll, a great Lord in Kent about the time of King Edward the Second, out of France, and had therefore Swinfield given him by Crioll, as I have read, for his fine conveyance, was then called Fineux, and left that name to his posterity. So Baldwin le Pettour, who had his name and held his land in Suffolk, *Per saltum, sufflum et pettum, five bumbulum*, for dancing, pout-puffing, and doing that before the King of England in Christmas holy days, which the word *pet* signifieth in French. Inquire, if you understand it not, of Cloacinas' Chaplains, or such as are well read in Ajax.

Upon such like occasions names were given among the Romans, as Tremellius was called *scrophæ*

or Sow, because when he had hid his Neighbour's Sow under a padde, and commanded his wife to lie down thereon, he sware, when the owner came in to seek the Sow, that he had no Sow but the great Sow that lay there, pointing to the padde, and the Sow his wife. So one Cornelius was furnamed Afina, for that when he was put in assurance for payment of certain summs in a purchase, he brought his Afs laden with money, and made ready payment. So Augustus named his Dwarf Sarmentum, *i.e.* Sprig; and Tiberius called one Tricongius, for carowing three gallons of wine. So Servilius was called Ala, for carrying his dagger under his armpit when he killed Spurius. So Pertinax the Emperour, being stubbornly resolute in his youth to be a Woodmonger as his Father was, when he would have made him a Scholar, was named Pertinax. So the Father of Valens the Emperour, who was Camp-master here in Britain, for his fast holding a rope in his youth which ten fouldiers could not pluck from him, was called Funarius. About which time also Paul, a Spaniard, a common Informer in Britain, was named Catena, *i.e.* the Chain, for that he chained & fettered many good men here with linking together false surmises, to their utter undoing, in the time of Constantinus the younger, who also (that I may remember it in passage) named his attendant scholar by no unfitting name, Musonius. But what names the beastly monster, rather than Emperour, Commodus, gave to his Attendants, I dare not mention, lest I should be immodestly offensive to chaste ears and modest minds; yet hitherto with modesty may be referred this of the Familie of Gephyri, *i.e.* Bridges in Greece, who took their name from a Bridge: For when their Mother was

Suetonius,

Capitolinus.

delivered of nine Children at a birth, and in a foolish fear had privily sent seven of them to be drowned at a Bridge, the Father suddainly coming to the Bridge, saved them, and thereupon gave them that name. Of these and the like we may say, *Propiora sunt honori, quam ignominie*. Infinite are the occasions which in like manner have made names to persons. I will only report one or two French Examples, that thereby you may imagine of others in other places and former Ages.

In the first broyls of France, certain companies ranging themselves into troops, one Captain took new names to himself and his company from the furniture of an horse. Among these new named Gallants you might have heard of Monsieur Saddle (to English them), Mounseur Bridle, Le Croupier, Le Girte, Horshoe, Bitte, Trappers, Hoof, Stirrop, Curbe, Musrole, Fronstal, &c.: Most of the which had their pasport, as my Authour noteth, by Seigneur de la Halter. Another Captain there also gave names to his according to the places where he found them, as Hedg, Highway, River, Pond, Vine, Stable, Street, Corner, Gallows, Taverne, Tree, &c. And I have heard of a consort in England, who, when they had served at Sea, took names from the equipage of a Ship, when they would serve themselves at Land, as Keel, Ballast, Planke, Fore-deck, Deck, Loop-hole, Pump, Rudder, Cable, Anchor, Misen-sail, Capson, Mast, Belt. So that is true which Isidore saith: "Names are not always given according to Nature, but some after our own will and pleasure, as we name our Lands and servants according to our own liking." And the Dutchman's saying may be verified, which, when he heard of English men called God and Devil, said, that the English borrowed names from all things whatsoever, good or bad.

It might be here questioned, whether these surnames were assumed and taken at the first by the persons themselves, or imposed and given unto them by others. It may as well seem that the local names of persons were partly taken up by themselves, if they were owners of the place, as given by the people, who have the sovereignty of words and names, as they did in the Nicknames before Surnames were in use. For who would have named himself Peaceable, Unready, Without-land, Beauclerk, Strongbow, Gagtooth, Blanch-main, Boffue, *i. e.* Crook-back, but the concurrent voice of the people?—as the women neighbours gave the name to Obed in the book of Ruth, and likewise in Surnames. In these pretty names, as I may terme them, from Flowers, Fishes, Birds, Habitudes, &c. it may be thought that they came from Nurfes in former times here, as very many, or rather most in Ireland and Wales do at this present. These Nicknames of one syllable turned to Surnames, as Dicks, Nicks, Toms, Hobbs, &c. may also seem to proceed from Nurses to their Nurflings, or from Fathers and Masters to their boys and servants. For, as according to the old Proverb, *Omnis herus servo Monosyllabus*, in respect of their short commands: so *Omnis servus hero Monosyllabus*, in respect of the curtailing their names, as Wil, Sim, Hodge, &c. Neither is it improbable but that many names, that seem unfitting for men, as of brutish beasts, &c. came from the very signs of the houses where they inhabited; for I have heard of them which said they spake of knowledge, that some in late time dwelling at the sign of the Dolphin, Bull, White-horse, Racket, Peacock, &c. were commonly called Thomas at the Dolphin, Will at the Bull, George at the White-horse, Robin at the Racket; which names, as many other of

like fort, with omitting *At*, became afterwards hereditary to their children.¹

Hereby some insight may be had in the original of Surnames, yet it is a matter of great difficulty to bring them all to certain heads, when, as our language is so greatly altered, so many new names daily brought in by Aliens, as French, Scots, Irish, Welsh, Dutch, &c. and so many old words worn out of use ; I mean not only in the old English, but also the late Norman : for who knoweth now what these names were—Giffard, Bassett, Gernon, Mallet, Howard, Peverell, Paganel or Paynel, Tailboise, Talbot, Lovet, Pancevolt, Tirrell, &c. which are nothing less than local, and certainly significative ; for they had never noted, as I said before, in old evidences with *De*, as local names, but always absolutely, as W. Giffard, R. Bassett, as Christian names are when they are made Surnames ; and yet I will not affirm that all these here mentioned were at any time Christian names, although doubtless some were.

Nicotius.

M. Lamb.
peramb.
Canta. p.
538.

For we know the significations of some of them, as Mallet, an hammer ; Bigot, a Norman, or superstitious ; Tailebois, i. e. Cutwood ; Lovet, Little Woolf ; and Bassett (as some think) Fat ; Giffard is by some interpreted Liberal ; and Howard High Warden or Guardian (as it seemeth an office out of use) when as Heobeorg signified in old English High defence, and Heob-fader Patriarch or High father. Certain it is, that the first of that right Noble Family who was known by the name of

¹ Traders' signs, which, before the modern practice of numbering houses prevailed in all populous places, contributed very largely to the stock of family names. I am inclined to attribute to this source nearly all those names which represent animals, plants, and other natural, as well as many artificial objects.

Howard, was the son of William de Wigenhall, as the honourable Lord William Howard of Naworth, third son to Thomas late Duke of Norfolk, an especial searcher of Antiquities, who equalleth his high Parentage with his vertues, hath lately discovered.

And as to find out the true original of Surnames, is full of difficulty, so it is not easie to search all the causes of alterations of Surnames, which in former Ages have been very common amongst us, and have so intricated or rather obscured the truth of our Pedegrees, that it will be no little labour to deduce many of them truly from the Conquest; Somewhat nevertheless shall be said thereof, but more shall be left for them which will dive deeper into this matter.

Change
of names.

To speak of alteration of names, omitting them of Abraham and Sara, Jacob and Israel, in holy Scriptures, I have observed that the change of names hath most commonly proceeded from a desire to avoid the opinion of baseness. So Codomarus, when he succeeded Ochus in the Kingdom of Persia, called himself by the Princely name Darius. So new names were given to them which were deified by the Paganish consecration, as Romulus was called Quirinus, Melicertus was called Portunis and Palæmon. Likewise in adoptions into better Families, and by testament, as the son of L. Æmilius, adopted by Scipio, took the name of Scipio Africanus. So Augustus, who was first named Thurreon, took the name of Octavian by testament. By enfranchising also into new Cities, as he which first was called Lucumo, when he was enfranchised at Rome, took the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus: So Dometrius Mega, when he was made free of the City, was called Publius Cornelius. Cicero Epist. 36. lib. 13.

Ctestas
Gnidius.

Likewise slaves when they were manumised, took

often their Masters' names, whenas they had but one name in their servile state. As they which have read Artemedidorus do know how a slave, who when he dreamed he had *tria virilia*, was made free the next morning, and had three names given him.

Neither is it to be forgotten, that men were not forbidden to change name or surname, by the rescript of Dioclesian, *L. Vinc. c. de mutat. nom.* so be that it were *Sine aliqua fraude, jure licito*. As that great Philosopher, which was first called Malchus in the Syrian Tongue, took the name of Porphyrius, as Eunapius reporteth: as before Suetonius the Historian took to Surname Tranquillus, when as his father was Suetonius Lenis. Those notwithstanding of strange base parentage were forbidden, *L. super statu c. de quæst.* to insert, or intrust themselves into noble and honest Families by changing their names, which will grow to inconvenience in England, as it is thought, by reason that Surnames of honourable and worshipful Families are given now to mean men's children for Christian names, as it is grown now in France, to the confusion of their Gentry, by taking new names from their purchased lands at their pleasures. Among the Romans, nevertheless, they that were called *ad Equestrem ordinem*, having base names, were new named *nomine ingenuorum veterumque Romanorum*, lest the name should disgrace the dignity, when according to Plato comely things should have no uncomely names.

Alex. ab
Alexandro
Genial.
dier. l. 2.
c. 28.
In Philebo.

It was usual amongst the Christians in the Primitive Church to change at Baptisme the names of Catechumeni, which were in years, as that impious Renegado, that was before called Lucius, was in his Baptisme called Lucianus. So the Popes use to change their names, when they enter into the Papacy, which as Platina saith, was begun by Pope Sergius the second, who first changed his name,

for that his former name was Hoggesmouth, but others refer the change of names in Popes to Christ, who chang'd Simon into Peter, John and James into Boanerges: only Marcellus, not long since chosen Pope, refused to change his name, saying, Marcellus I was, and Marcellus I will be; I will neither change Name nor Manners. Other religious men also when they entred into some Orders, changed their names in times past, following therein (as they report) the Apostle, that changed his name from Saul to Paul, after he entred into the Ministry, borrowing (as some say) that name from Sergius Paulus, the Roman Lieutenant, but as others will, from his low stature, for he was but three cubits high, as S. Chysoftom speaking of him, *Tricubitalis ille, tamen cælum ascendit.*

Cryso-
stomus.

Of changing also Christian names in confirmation we have said before; but overpassing these forreign matters, let us say somewhat as concerning change of names in England.

Younger
sons assum-
ing their
surnames
from the
places
where
they
feated
them-
selves.

As among the French in former time, and also now, the Heir took the father's surname, and the younger sons took names of their Lands allotted unto them. So likewise in times past did they in England; and the most common alteration proceeded from place of habitation. As if Hugh of Suddington gave to his second son his Mannour of Frydon, to his third son his Mannour of Pantly, to his fourth his Wood of Albdy, the sons called themselves De Frydon, De Pantley, De Albdy; and their posterity removed De. So Hugh Monteforte's second son, called Richard, being Lord of Hatton in Warwickshire, took the name of Hatton. So the youngest son of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leiceſter, staying in England when his father was slain and brethren fled, took the name of Weliborne, as some of that name have reported. So the name of Ever came

Lib. Pri-
oratus de
Wroxhall.

Yvo Car-
notensis
in his
Epistles
complain-
eth of
this.

from the Mannour of Ever, near Uxbridge, to younger sons of Lord John Fitz-Robert de Clavering: from whom the Lord Evers, and Sir Peter Evers of Axholme, are descended. So Sir John Cradock Knight, great grandfather of Sir Henry Newton of Somersetshire, took first the name of Newton, which was the name of his habitation: as the issue of Hudard in Cheshire, took the name of Dutton, their chief mansion.

Variation
of names
in one
Family.

But for variety and alteration of names in one Family upon divers respects, I will give you one Cheshire example for all, out of an ancient Roul belonging to Sir William Brereton of Brereton, Knight, which I saw twenty years since. Not long after the Conquest, William Belward, Lord of the moiety of Malpasse, had two sons, Dan-David of Malpasse, surnamed Le Clerke, and Richard; Dan-David had William his eldest son surnamed De Malpasse. His second son was named Philip Gogh, one of the issue of whose eldest sons took the name of Egerton; a third son took the name of David Golborne, and one of his sons the name of Goodman. Richard, the other son of the aforefaid William Belward, had three sons, who took also divers names, *viz.* Tho. de Cotgrave, William de Overton, and Richard Little; who had two sons, the one named Ken-Clarke, and the other John Richardson. Herein you may note alteration of names in respect of habitation, in Egerton, Cotgrave, Overton. In respect of colour in Gogh, that is, Red: In respect of quality in him that was called Goodman: In respect of stature in Richard Little: In respect of learning in Ken-Clark: In respect of the father's Christian name in Richardson, all descending from William Belward. And verily the Gentlemen of those so different names in Cheshire

would not easily be induced to believe they were descended from one house, if it were not warranted by so ancient a proof.

In respect of stature I could recite to you other examples, but I will only add this which I have read, that a young Gentleman of the house of Preux, being of tall stature, attending on the Lord Hungerford, Lord Treasurer of England, was among his fellows called Long H, who after, preferred to a good marriage by his Lord, was called H. Long, that name continued to his Posterity, Knights and men of great worship.

Others took their mothers' Surnames, as A. Audley, younger brother to James, Lord Audley, marrying the daughter and heir of H. de Stanley, left a son William, and took the name of Stanley, from whom Stanley Earl of Darby, and others of that name are descended. Geffrey, the son of Robert Fitz-Maldred and Isabel his wife, heir of the Norman house of the Nevils, took the name of Nevil, and left it to his Posterity, which was spread into very many honourable Families of England. In like manner, the son of Joscelin of Lovain, a younger son to the Duke of Brabant, when he had married Agnes, the only daughter of William Lord Percy, (so named of Percy forrest, in the County of Maen), from whom they came (and not of piercing the King of Scots through the eye, as Hector Boëtius fableth), his son and posterity, upon a composition with the same Lady, took her name of Percy, but retained their old Coat armour, to shew from whom they descended. So Adam de Montgomery (as it is held by tradition, I know not how truly) marrying the daughter and heir of Carew of Molesford, her son relinquishing his own, left to his Posterity his Mother's name Carew, from

The mother's surname retained by her descendants.

whom the Barons Carew, the Carews of Haccomb, of Berry, of Anthony, and of Bedington, &c. have had their names and original. Likewise Ralph Gernon, marrying the Daughter of Cavendish or Candish, left that Name to his Issue, as Thomas Talbot, a learned Genealift, hath proved. So Robert Meg, the great favourite of King John, took the name of Braybrook, whereof his Mother was one of the Heirs. Likewise Sir John de Haudlow, marrying the daughter and heir of the Lord Burnell, his posterity took the name of Burnell. So Sir Tebauld Russell took the name of De Gorges to him and his issue, for that his mother was sister and one of the heirs of Ralph de Gorges, as it appeareth in the controverfie between Warbleton and the said Tebald de Gorges and Horfley for the Coat of Arms, Lozengy, Or and Azure (21 of Edward the Third) before Henry Earl of Lancafter and others, at the siege of S. Margaret. And not many years since, when James Horfey had married the daughter of De la-Vale of Northumberland, his issue took the name of De la-Vale.

Changing
the name
to that of
the Pro-
genitors
by the
mother's
fide.

Hereunto may they also be referred who changed their names in remembrance of their Progenitours being more honourable, as the sons of Geffrey Fitz-Petre took the name of Magnavilla or Mandevile, when they came to be Earls of Effex, because their grandmother Beatrix was of the house of Mandevile, as appeareth by the Abbey book of Walden. So Thomas de Molton took the name of Lucy, and many others which I omit.

And that this was also the usage in foreign parts, hearken to what the learned du Tillet* saith—
"Guillaume sire de Dampierre espoufa Margaret Compeffe de Flandres, de Hainau seconde fille de Boudowin Empereur de Grece : de lui sont descen-

* Recuil
des Rois
de France,
p. 152 &
216.

dus les Comtes de Flandres, lesquels se tindrent au furnom de Flandres a cause de la dit Comtesse Marguerite qui ovoit tiltre plus honorable que son mary, lequel avoit laissé celuy de Bourbon pour prendre celuy de son partage, qui estoit la Seigneurie de Dampierre en Champagne, telle estoit la facon du temps."

Others also have taken the name of them whose Lands they had : As when King Henry the First gave the Lands of the attainted Robert Moubray, Earl of Northumberland, being 120 Knights fees in Normandy, and 140 in England, to Nigell or Neale de Albeney his Bow-bearer, who, in the battle at Trenchbray, took Robert, Duke of Normandy, prisoner : he commanded withall, that his Posterity should take the Surname of Moubray, which they accordingly did, and retained the same as long as the issue male continued, which determined in John Moubray, Duke of Norfolk, in the time of King Edward the Fourth : whose heirs were married into the Families of Howard and Barkley.

Bearing
the name
of him
whose
Lands
they
enjoyed.

Remembrance of benefits made others to change their names, as William Mortimer, descended from those of Richard's Castle, took the name of La Zouch, and named his son Alan de la-Zouch, for favour received from the Lord Zouch, of Ashby de la-Zouch, in respect of alliance, as appeareth by "Inquisition," 11 & 21 Ed. III.

In respect
of favour.

In respect of adoption also, very many in all Ages have changed their names : I need not particulate it, for all know it. Some of their own dislike of their names have altered them : for as I have read in the book of Furnesse, William Fitz-Gilbert, Baron of Kendall, obtained license of King Henry the Second to change his name, and call himself and his posterity Lancaster, from whom the Lancasters in Westmerland, &c. are descended.

By reason
of adop-
tion.

Hereupon some think that without the King's licence new names cannot be taken, or old names given away to others. Yet Tiraquell, the great Civilian of France, in "Leg. quin. Conub." Tit. 92, seemeth to incline, that both Name and Arms may be transferred by Will and Testament, and produceth Augustus, who by his Testament commanded Tiberius and Livia to bear his Name. How in former times Heronville, Dumvile, and Clanwowe gave and granted away their Arms, which are as silent names, distinctions of Families; and the same was thought unlawful afterward, when the Lord Hoo would have done the same, shall be declared in more convenient place. But the inconvenience of change of names hath been discovered to be such in France, that it hath been propounded in the Parliament at Dijon that it should not be permitted but in these two respects; either when one should be made heir to any with any especial words, to assume the name of the Testator; or when any one should have donation surmounting a thousand crowns, upon the same condition. But to retire to our purpose.

Not a few have assumed the names of their fathers' Baronies, as in former times the issue of Richard Fitz-Gilbert took the name of Clare, which was their Barony: and in late time, since the Suttons came to the Barony of Dudley, all their issue took the name of Dudleys. The dislike of others hath caused also a change of names, for King Edward the first, disliking the iteration of Fitz, commanded the Lord John Fitz-Robert, an ancient Baron (whose Ancestours had continued their Surnames by their father's Christian names), to leave that manner, and be called John of Clavering, which was the capital seat of his Barony. And in this time,

many that had followed that course of naming by Fitz, took them one settled name, and retained it, as Fitz-Walter, and others.

Also at that time the names of Thomson, Richardson, Wilson, and other of that form began to be settled, which before had varied according to the name of the father: Edward the fourth likewise (as I have heard) loving some whose name was Picard, would often tell them that he loved them well but not their names, whereupon some of them changed their names: and I have heard that one of them took the name of Ruddle, being the place of his birth, in that respect. And in late years, in the time of King Henry the eighth, an ancient Worshipful Gentleman of Wales, being called at the pannel of a Jury by the name of Thomas, Ap William, Ap Thomas, Ap Richard, Ap Hoel, Ap Evan Vaghan, &c. was advised by the Judge to leave that old manner. Whereupon he after called himself Moston, according to the name of his principal house, and left that Surname to his Posterity.

Offices have brought new names to divers Families, as when Edward Fitz-Theobald was made Butler of Ireland, the Earls of Ormond and others descended from them, took the name of Butler. So the distinct Families of the Constables, in the County of York, are said to have taken that name, from some of their Ancestours, which bare the office of Constables of some Castles. In like manner the Stewards, Marshals, Spencers. That I may say nothing of such as for well acting on the stage have carried away the names of the Personages which they acted, and have lost their own names among the people.

Scholars' pride hath wrought alterations in some

names, which have been sweetned in sound, by drawing them to the Latine Analogie. As that notable Non-resident in our fathers' time, Doctour Magnus, who being a foundling at Newarke upon Trent, where he erected a Grammar-School, was called by the people T. Among us, for that he was found among them : But he, profiting in learning, turned Among us into Magnus, and was famous by that name, not only here, but also in forreign places where he was Ambassadour.

It were needles to note here again how many have taken in former times the Christian name of their father, with prefixing of Fitz or Filz, as Fitz-Hugh, Fitz-Alan, Fitz-William, or adding of son, as Richardson, Tomson, Johnson, &c. and so altered their Surnames, if they had any. Whereas divers ancient Gentlemen of England do bear Coats of Arms, which by old rouls and good proofs are known to belong to other Names and Families, and cannot make proof that they matched with those Families, it is worth obfervation (confidering how strict they were in elder times in keeping their own Arms) whether they were not of those ancient houses whose Arms they bear, and have changed their names in respect of their habitation, or partitions and lands gotten by their wives ? As Pickering of the North, beareth Ermin, a Lion rampant Azure crowned. Or which, as it is in the old Abby-book of Furnesse, was the Coat of Roger de Miythorp. In the same book the coat of Dacre, Gules, three Escalopes Argent, is the coat of R. Gerneth of Cumberland : And so the three pillows Ermin of Redman of Northumberland is the coat of Ran. de Greystock. So Ufford, Earl of Suffolk, and Petton, Fetiplace, and Hide, and many other Gentlemen of the same Arms, may seem to have been

of the same stock, and to have varied their names in divers respects.

Finally, among the common people which sway all in names, many Surnames have been changed in respect of occupations, and not a few have been changed in respect of masters, for in every place we see the youth very commonly called by the names of their occupations, as John Baker, Thomas Tayler, Will Butcher, Dick Barber; and many by their masters' names, as John Pickering, Thomas Watkins, Nicholas French, whenas they served masters of those names, which often were conveyed to their posterity, and their own surnames altogether forgotten. Some other causes of alteration of names may be found, as for crimes committed when men have been enforced to leave their Countreys. But hereby it may be understood that an Alias or double name cannot prejudice the honest: and it is known that when Judge Cataline took exception at one in this respect, saying that no honest man had a double name, and came in with an Alias; the party asked him what exception his Lordship could take to Jesus Christ, alias Jesus of Nazareth?

I doubt not but some men among us in changing their names do imitate old Gaffer Simon, the Cobbler, in Lucian, who when he grew fat in the purse, would needs be called for Goodman Simon, Master Simonides, as some women do follow the good Greek wench Melissarion, that is, Pretty honey-Bee, who when of a Comedian's she became a wealthy man's wife, would be saluted Madam Pithias, or Prudence. And some likewise can change themselves from she to he, and so consequently their name, as Cenis the wench, into Ceneus the young man, as you may see in Ovid.

Among the alteration of names, it may also be

Aristine-
tus.

Proffard.

remembered how Kings of Arms, Heralds, and Pursevants are new named with a bowl of wine powred on their Heads by the Prince, or Earl Marshal, when they are invested, and the Kings crowned; as Garter, Clarenceux, Norrey, Lancaster, York, Richmod, Somersset, &c. which is as ancient as the time of King Edward the third. For we read that when news was brought him at Windsor, by a Pursuivant, of the victory at the battle of Auroy, he bountifully rewarded him, and immediately created him Herald, by the name of Windsor.

Here might I note that women with us at their marriage do change their surnames, and pass into their husbands' names, and justly, for that then *Non sunt duo, sed caro una*: And yet in France and the Netherlands, the better sort of women will still retain their own name with their husband's, as if Mary, daughter of Villewill, be married to A. Vavill, she will write her self Mary Vavill Villewill. But I fear husbands will not like this note, for that some of their dames may be ambitiously over pert and too-too forward to imitate it.

Beside these former alterations the tyrant Time, which hath swallowed many names, hath also in use of speech changed more by contracting, synco-pating, curtolling, and mollifying them, as beside them before mentioned, Adrecy is now turned into D'arcy, Aldethelighe into Awdly, Sabrigworth into Sapsford, Sitfil into Cecil, Mountjoy into Mungy, Duvenet into Knevet, if you believe Leland; Grin-vile into Greenfield, Haverington into Harrington, Bouchier into Bowcer, Le Daiherell into Dairell, Ravensford into Rainsford, Mohune into Moon, Danvers into Davers, Gernegan into Jerningham, Cahors into Chawort, Dinant into Dinham, Woo-

therington into Witherington, Estlegh into Astly, Turberville into Troublefield, De Oileio into Doiley, Pogli into Poly, De Alanfon into Dalifon, Purefoy into Purfrey, Cavendish into Candish, Veinour into Fenner, Harecourt into Harcot, Sanctpaul into Sampol, Fortescu into Foscu, Ferrers into Ferris, Throckmorton into Frogmorton, Culwen into Curwen, Poitevin into Petfin, Berenger into Benger, Montacute into Montague, Gernons into Garnish, Pullifon into Pilston, Cholmondley into Cholmley, Grosvenour into Gravener, Maifnilwarin into Manwaring, after into Mannering; Fitz-Gerard into Garret, Okover into Oker, Uvedale into Udall, D'amprecourt first into Dabridgecourt, now into Dabscot: Leventhop into Lenthrop, Wilburnhame into Wilbram, Askow from Ascouth, and that from the old Christian name Ascuith, which in Latine was Hasculphus and Hastulphus, that is, Speedy help, &c.

It may not seem from this purpose if I here set down and compare a few names of ancient good families, as they are written in old Latin Records and histories, with them now in use: whereof many are as it were so transformed in common pronunciation from the original, as they will scantily seem to have been the same.

Ashe, *De Fraxinis.*

Bellew, *De Bella aqua.*

Beaufoe, *De Bella fago.*

Boys, *De Bosco.*

Beaupre, *De Bella prato.*

Bourchier, *de Burgo charo*, only once.

Beaumen, *de Bello-monte.*

Beauchamp, *de Bello-campo.*

Blount, *Flavus*, sometimes.

Bowes, *de Arcubus*.
Bovil, *de Bovis Villa*.
Chaworth, *de Cadurcis*.
Cheney, *de Casineto*, and *de Querceto*.
Champaigne, *de Campania*.
Cantlow, *de Cantelupo*.
Chawmond, *de Calvo Monte*.
Champflour, *de Campo-florido*.
Capell, *de Capella*.
Chevercourt, *de Capite Curia*.
Crevecure, *de crepito corde*.
Champernoun, *de Campo Arnulphi*.
D'evreux, *de Ebroicis*.
D'autrey, *de Alta ripa*.
D'auney, *de Alneto*.
D'aubeney, *de Albeneio*.
Freshmerth, *de Frisco-Marisco*.
Ferrers, *De Ferrariis*.
Huffey, *De Hofato, & Hofatus*.
Lorty, *De Urtiaco*.
Love, *Lupus*.
Lovet, *Lupellus*.
Lovell, *Lupellus*.
Lisle, *De Insula*.
Mallorell, *Malus Lupellus*.
Montjoy, *De Monte Jovis*.
Mannours, *De Manneriis*.
Minours, *De Mineriis*.
Marth, *De Marisco*.
Mauley, *De Malo-Lacu*.
Montchensfey, *De Monte Canisio*.
Mortimer, *De Mortuo Mari*.
Musters, *De Monasteriis*.
Mews, *De Melfa*.
Monthermer, *De Monte Hermerii*.

- Montfichet, *De Monte fixo.*
 Montperfon, *De Monte Pefsonis.*
 Molines, *De Molindinis.*
 Moigne, *Monachus.*
 Newmarch, *De Novo Mercatu.*
 Nowres, *De Nodariis.*
 Nevill, *De Nova villa.*
 Peche, *De Peccato.*
 Perpoint, *De Petra-ponte.*
 Pudsey, *De Puteaco.*
 Roch, *De Rupe.*
 Saucheverell, *De saltu Capellæ.*
 Sellenger, or Saint Leger, *De Sancto Leodogario.*
 Simberd, *De Sancta Barbara.*
 Stradling, *Easterling*, because they first came
 out of the East part of Germây.
 Senlis, *Sylvæctensis, & De Sâcto Lizio.*
 S. Foster, *de S. Vedasto.*
 Semarc, *De S. Medardo.*
 Seimor, *De S. Mauro.*
 Sampier, *De S. Petre.*
 Sampol, *De S. Paulo.*
 Sentlo, *De S. Laudo.*
 Sentlow, *De S. Lupo.*
 Syncler, *De S. Clara.*
 Semarton, *De S. Martino.*
 Singlis, in Ireland, *De S. Gelasto.*
 S. Omer, *De S. Audomaro.*
 S. Owen, *De S. Audoeno.*
 Samond, *De S. Amando.*
 Surteyes, *Super Teyfam.*
 Saltmerfh, *De Salfo Marifco.*
 Spencer, or Le Despencer, *Despensator.*
 Scales, *De Scalariis.*
 Straunge, *Extraneus.*

Vipount, *De Veteri-ponte.*
De la Zouch, *De Stipite sicco*.¹

For William de la Zouch, Archbishop of York, is so called in this Verse for his valour in an encounter against the Scottishmen at Bear-park, 1342.

"Est pater invictus sicco de stipite dictus," &c.

For Zouch signifieth the stock of a tree in the French tongue. And this translation of names into Greek or Latin is still in use among the Germans, for he whose name is Ertswept or Blackland will be *Melancthon*; if Newman, *Neander*; if Hollieman, *Osiander*; if Brooke, *Torrentius*; if Fenne, *Paludanus*, &c. which some amongst us began lately to imitate.

Seneca.

To draw to an end, no name whatsoever is to be disliked in respect either of original or of signification; for neither the good names do grace the bad, neither do evil names disgrace the good. If names are to be accounted good or bad, in all Countries both good and bad have been of the same Surnames, which as they participate one with the other in glory, so sometimes in shame. Therefore for ancestors, parentage and names (as he said), let every man say, "*Vix ea nostra voco.*" Time hath intermingled and confused all, and we are come all to this present, by successive variable descents from high and low: or as he saith more plainly, the low are descended from the high, and contrariwise, the high from low.

If any do vaunt of their names, let them look to it, lest they have *inania nomina*; you know who saith,

¹ A much longer list of Latinized surnames appears in Wright's "Court Hand Restored," which, with some additions, I have reprinted in Eng. Surn. vol. ii.

"Vestra nomina nunquam sum admiratus; viros qui ea vobis reliquerunt, magnos arbitrabor." And if they glory in their ancient fair names, and far fetcht descents, with contempt of others, happily some such like as Marius was, may return upon them Marius' words: "Si jure despiciunt nos, faciunt idem majoribus suis, quibus uti nobis ex virtute nobilitas cœpit. Invident honori nostro: ergo invideant labori, innocentia, periculis etiam nostris, quoniam per hæc illum cepimus." Yea, some of these occupation and office names, which do seem so mean to some, are as ancient in this Realm as most other. For in that most authentical Register sc. Domesday book in the Exchequer, ye shall have Cocus, Aurifaber, Pictor, Pistor, Accipitrarius, Camerarius, Venator, Piscator, Medicus, Cook, Goldsmith, Painter, Baker, Falconer, Chamberlaine, Huntsman, Fisher, Leach, Marshall, Porter, and others, which then held land *in Capite*, and without doubt left these names to their posterity, albeit happily they are not mentioned in those tables of Battaile Abbey of such as came in at the Conquest: which whosoever considereth well shall find always to be forged, and those names to be inserted which the time in every age favoured, and were never mentioned in that notable Record.¹

If you please to compare the Roman names that seem so stately, because you understand them not, you will disdain them in respect of our meanest names; For what is *Fronto* but Beetle-browed? *Cæsius* but Cat's-eyes? *Petus* but Pink-eyed? *Cocles* One-eye, *Naso* Bottle-nose, *Galba* Maggot, as Sue-

Catalogues of
Battaile-
Abby,
fictitious.

¹ On the subject of the genuineness of the far-famed document known as the "Roll of Battel Abbey" see Mr. Hunter's paper, in vol. vi. of the Suffex Archæological Collections.

In "Ortho-
graphia."

tonius interpreteth, *Silo* Ape's-nose, *Ancus* Crooked arm, *Pansa* Broad-foot, *Strabo* Squint-eye, *Suillius* Swine-heard, *Capito* Jobbernoll, *Calvus* Bald-pate, *Crispus* Curl-pate, *Flaccus* Loll-ears, or Flagge-eared, *Labeo* Blabber-lip, *Scaurus* Knobd-heel, *Varus* Bow-legged, *Pedo* Long-thanks, *Marcellus* Hammer, for it cometh from *Marculus*; *Hortensis* Gardner, *Gilo* Petty-longpate, *Chilo* Flap-lips, or, as *Vellius* Longus saith, "Improbioribus labris homo."

Lib. 18.
c. 3.

Those great names also, *Fabius*, *Lentulus*, *Cicero*, *Piso*, *Stolo*, are no more in our tongue than Beanman, Lentill, Chich-pease, Pescod-man, Branch; for, as *Pliny* saith, these names were first appropriated to them for skill in sowing those grains. Neither those from beasts which *Varro* reciteth in the second "de Rustica," *Taurus*, *Vitulus*, *Ovilius*, *Porcius*, *Caprilius*, were better than Bull, Calf, Sheep, Hogge, Goat, &c.

J. Andr.
in c. dum
secundum
de Preb.

In respect of these names all the names of England are such as I think few would take the benefit of *Dioclesian's* rescript, which I lately mentioned. But in France (where the foul names, *Marmot*, *Merd'oyson*, *Boreau*) and in Spain (where *Verdugo*, *i. e.* Hangman, *Putanero*, and such like are rife) it is no marvel that some procure licence from the King to change their names: and that a Gentlewoman (*Doctor Andreas* the great Civilian's wife) said: "If fair names were saleable, they would be well bought."

Thus much of Christian Names and Surnames; or *Prænomena* and *Nomina*. As for *Cognomina* and *Agnomina*, or By-names, which were rare in our Nation, only I remember these three, *Le Beuf* in the family of the *Giffards*, *Le Cosin* among the *Darcies*, and *Bouchard* in one house of the *Latimers*, and some say *Algernoun* in the family of

Percies: but that as yet is out of the reach of my reading, unless it be the same that is corruptly, in the descent of the Earls of Boleyn belonging to the late Queen Mother of France, set down Agernouns, for Algernouns; For so Eustache the second is there by-named, who in other old Pedegrees is called Eustace with the clear eyes.

As for additions given over and beside names, and surnames in Law causes, that I may note them out of a Law-book, they are either of estate, or degree, or mystery, or town, or hamlet, or county. Addition of estate are these, Yeoman, Gentleman, Esquire. Addition of degree are those which we call names of dignity, as Knight, Earl, Marquess, Duke. Additions of mystery are such, Scrivener, Carpenter, Smith. Addition of towns, as of Paddington, Islington, Edelmeton. And where a man hath household in two places, he should be said to dwell in both of them, so that his addition in one of them doth suffice.

By the Statute the first year of King Henry the fifth, and sixth Chapter, it was ordained that in suits or in actions, where process of Utlary lyeth, such addition should be to the name of the Defendant, to shew his estate, mystery, and place where he dwelleth, and that such Writs shall abate, if they have not such additions, if the Defendant do take exception thereat; they shall not abate by the office of the Court.

Also, Duke, Marquess, Earl or Knight be none of that addition, but names of dignity which should have been given before the statute. And this was ordained by the said statute made in the first year of King Henry the VII. Chap. 5. to the intent that one man may not be grieved or troubled by the Utlary of another, but that by reason of the certain addition

Additions
how long
frequently
used.

every man might be certainly known, and bear his own burden.

How the names of them which for capital crimes against Majesty were razed out of the publick Records, Tables, and Registers, or forbidden to be born by their posterity, when their memory was damned, I could shew at large; but this and such like, with Misnomer in our Laws and other Quidities, I leave to the professors of Laws.

Adjuncts
to names.

Somewhat might be said here of the adjuncts to names or titles, which in ancient times were either none, or most simple. For Augustus was impatient to be called Dominus; yet Domitian liked well to be called Dominus Deusque: and Dominus was taken up by every private man, as appeareth by Seneca, and the poor Grecian which refused that title by alluding Οὐκ ἐθέλω Δόμινε, οὐ γὰρ ἔχω δόμεναι. Nevertheless it was never used by the Emperours, from Domitian to Dioclesianus, as Victor noteth; but afterward it was continued by the Christian Emperours, yea, upon their Coins.

And that which is more strange, they used then, as appeareth in the Constitutions, for themselves, *Æternitas nostra*, *Perennitas nostra*, *Numen nostrum*; and to their principal Officers, *Vir illustris*, *Vir spectabilis*, *Magnifica celsitudo*, *Sublimis magnitudo tua*, *Illustris magnificentia*, *Sublimitas*, *Miranda sublimitas*, *Eminentia tua*, *Excellentia tua*, *Præcella magnificentia tua*, &c. As appeareth in the Volumes of the Civil Law. So as I know not why that Spite-King Buchanan should envy lesser titles to Princes, the very Types of God's Majesty, yea, very Gods in earth, and brand them with the mark of *Sericati nebulones*, which honour Princes therewith.

Titles at-
tributed
to men of

The Romans under the later Emperours had a very curious and careful observation in giving titles

to men of reputation, which as I have read were only five ; Illuſtris was the higheſt appropriated to the Præfecti Prætorio of Italy and Gallia ; the Præfectus of the City of Rome, Magiſter Equitum, Magiſter Peditum, Quæſtor Palatii, Comes Largitionis, &c. and all that had voice in the Senate. Spectabilis was the ſecond title due to the Lieutenants General, and Comites of Provinces, &c. So Notitia Provinciarum, Vicarius Britanniarum, Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam, Dux Britanniaë, are ſtyled Viri ſpectabiles. Clariffimus was the third title peculiar only to the Conſulares, Correctores, and Preſtaes of Provinces. Perfectiffimus was the fourth ; Egregius the fifth. And as Clariffimus was a title to thoſe great Officers above ſpecified, ſo no other could have that, as neither of Perfectiffimus, and Egregius, but granted by Patents. And in that Age, as it is in the Code of Theodoſius, “ Tit. Ut Dignitatem ordo ſervetur. Si quis indebitum ſibi locum uſurpaverit, nulla ſe ignoratione defendat, ſitque planè ſacrilegii reus.”

note by
the Ro-
mans.
Cod.
Theod.
& Juſ-
tinian.

Amongſt us the Kings had theſe adjuncts, when they were written and ſpoken unto, Glorioſus, Glorioſiffimus, Præcellentiffimus, Chariffimus Dominus, Rex illuſtris, lately Potentiſſimus, Inviſtiſſimus, Sereniſſimus ; Our liege Lord ; Our Sovereign, Our Dread Sovereign, &c.

Adjuncts
to the
names of
our Kings.

As for Grace, it began about the time of Henry the IV. Excellent Grace under Henry the ſixth. High and mighty Prince, under Edward the IV. and Maſteſty, which was firſt attributed to the Roman Emperours about the time of Gallienus, came hither in the time of King Henry the eighth, as Sacred Maſteſty lately in our memory. Whereas among Chriſtians it was appliable only in former ages to God, as among the old Romans to the God-

Trebellius
Pollio,
Ovid,
Faſt.

defs Majesty, the daughter of Honour and Reverence.

Among other men in former ages Dan, corrupted from Dominus, was the greatest attribute both to Spiritual and Temporal, and afterward Worshipful, and Right-Worshipful hath been thought convenient among us for the great Dukes and Earls ; but we now begin so to overlade men with additions, as Spaniards did lately, until they were restrained by the Pragmatica in A^o. 1586 ; at which time Pasquil, at Rome, being demanded why Philip of Spain had so taken away all titles from all sorts of men, answered merrily, albeit not religiously : That it may be verified of him which is said, " Tu solus Dominus, tu solus altissimus," in respect of his voluminous long Title, which will tire the Reader.

Thus far had I proceeded in names, when it was high time to stay, for I am advertised that there is one, which by Art Trochilick, will draw all English Surnames of the best Families out of the pit of Poetry, as Boucher from Busyris, the Tyrant of Egypt ; Percy, from flying Perseus ; Darcy, from Dirceus Apollo ; Lee, from Lætus, turned into a Swan in Ovid ; Jackson from Jason : Well he may satisfy them herein, whom I cannot.¹ As for my self, I acknowledge that I cannot satisfy neither them nor my self in all particularities : and well therefore I do like him that said, " He doth not teach well which teacheth all, leaving nothing to subtil wits to sift out." And sure I am scrupulous diligence lieth open to envy.

¹ Who the "one" may be who, by "Art Trochilick," found out these wonderful etymons I know not ; but, by a process no less absurd than his, some modern genealogists have found our plebeian Turner to be "tour noire."

But for such as will not be content with that which is said, I wish Sir John de Bilbæo would conjure up William Ockam, the Father of the Nominals (as Appion did Homer) for their better satisfaction herein. Mean while I desire no man will take offence at any thing here spoken, whenas I have been so far from giving offence, that I dare protest in that solemn ancient form, "Superos & Sydera testor." Hating it in others, and condemning it in my self, even unto the bottomless pit of Hell.

ALLUSIONS.¹

I WILL now present unto you a few extracts out of names, (I fear you will call them foolish fopperies,) but call them what you please, I hope a little folly may be pardonable in this our so wise an Age.

Out of names the busie wit of man continually working, hath wrought upon liking or dislike, Allusions, very common in all Ages, and among all men; Rebus, rise in late Ages, both with learned and unlearned; and Anagrammes, though long since invented, yet rare in these our refined times. In all which, I will briefly shew our Nation hath been no less pregnant than those Southern which presume of wits in respect of situation. Afterward somewhat shall be said of Arms, which, as silent names, distinguish Families.

An Allusion is as it were a dalliance or playing with words like in sound, but unlike in sence, by changing, adding, or subtracting a letter or two; so that words nicking and resembling one the other,

¹ *i. e. Puns.*

are appliable to different significations ; as the Almighty (if we may herein use sacred authority) in ratification of his promise to the seed of Isaac, changed Abram, *i. e.* High father, into Abraham, that is, father of many ; and Sarai, that is, my Dame, into Sarah, that is, Lady or Dame. The Greeks (to omit infinite others) nicked Antiochus Epiphanes, that is, the famous, with Epimanes, that is, the furious. The Romans likewise played with bibbing Tiberius Nero, calling him Biberius Mero. So Tully called the extorting Verres, in the actions against him, Verrens, as Sweep-all. So in Quintilian the fowre fellow Placidus was called Acidus, and of late one called Scaliger, Aliger.

Excellent is that which our Countryman Reverend Beda reporteth in his "Ecclesiastical History of England," of the cause that moved Gregory the Great to send Augustin into England. On a time (as I shewed before) when he saw beautiful boys to be sold in the Market at Rome, and demanded by what name their nation was called ; and they told him English men ; and justly they be so called (quoth he), for they have Angelick faces, and seem meet to be made Coheirs with the Angels in Heaven : After, when it was told him that their King was called Alla, then, said he, ought Alleluja to be sung in that Countrey to the praise of their Creator : when it was also signified unto him they were born in a part of the Kingdom of Northumberland, called then Deira, now Holderneffe, *Dei ira Dei*, (then said he) *sunt liberandi*.

Laurens Archbishop, which succeeded that Augustin, was by Allusion called Lauriger ; Mellitus, Mellissluus ; Brith-wald, Bright-world ; Nothelme, Noble-helme ; Celnothus, Cælonatus, all Archbishops of Canterbury. And such like were framed

out of the names of many English Confessours, which I omit.

Arletta, the good Wench which so kindly entertained Robert Duke of Normandy, when he begat of her William the Conquerour (as I had rather you should read in others than hear of me), was for her honesty, closely with an aspiration called Harlot. But the good and Learned Record would say, that this name began from her, and in honour of her, was appropriated by the Normans in England to all of her kind profession, and so continueth.

When Herbert, first Bishop of Norwich, and founder of the Cathedral Church there, had simoniacally procured that Bishoprick to himself, and the Abbacy of Winchester to his Father, they were alluded upon by the name of Simon in the worst sense, in this verse—

“Filius est Præful, pater Abbas, Simon uterque.”

Strong and suddain was that Allusion of Gilbert Folioth Bishop of Hereford, who, when he had incurred the hatred of many for opposing himself against Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, one cried with a loud voyce at his chamber window at midnight, “Folioth, Folioth, thy God is the goddes Azaroth.” He suddainly and stoutly replied, “Thou liest, foul fiend; my God is the God of Sabbaoth.”

Minor
hist.
M. Paris.

Hitherto may be referred that which Giraldus Cambrensis reporteth. An Archdeacon named Peccatum or Peche, a rural Dean called De-evill, and a Jew travelling together in the Marches of Wales, when they came to Illstreate, the Archdeacon said to his Dean that their jurisdiction began there, and reached to Malpasse: The Jew, considering the names of the Dean, Archdeacon, and limits, said by Allusion: “Marvel may it be if I escape

Venus.

Sinac.

well out of this Jurisdiction, where Sin is Archdeacon, the Devil the Dean, and the bounds Illstreate and Malpasse."

Alexander Nequam, a man of great Learning, born at Saint Albanes, and desirous to enter into Religion there, after he had signified his desire, writ to the Abbot Laconically—

"Si vis, veniam, sint autem, tu autem."

Who answered as briefly, alluding to his name,

"Si bonus sis, venias ; si Nequam, nequaquam."

Whereupon he changed his name to Neckam.

Philip Rependam, Abbot of Leiceſter, alluded thus upon the name of Neckham—

"Et niger & nequam, cum sis cognomine Neckam.
Nigrior eſſe potes, nequior eſſe nequis."

But he repaid him with this re-alluſion upon the name of Philip—

"Phi nota foetoris, lippus malus omnibus horis," &c.

Eustachius
de Fau-
conberge.

A London Poet dallied thus with the name of Eustachius, when he was preferred from Treafurer of England to be Biſhop of London, 1222, which was thought a great preferment in that Age,—

"Eustachi nuper benè ſtabas, nunc benè ſtabis,
Ille ſtatus valuit, prævalet iſte tamen."

Robert Paſſelue, an eſpecial Favorite of Henry the Third, afterward by a Court-tempeſt ſo ſhaken as he was glad to be Parſon of Derham in Norfolk, was alluded unto while he was in the Sun-ſhine by Paſs-le-eau, as ſurpaſſing the pure water, the moſt excellent element of all, if you believe Pindar. And one then made of Mareſcallus, Martis Senefchallus.

This Alluſion was compoſed to the honour of a

religious man called Robertus, resolving it into Ros, Ver, Thus :

“Tu benè Robertus quasi Ros, Ver, Thusq; vocaris,
Ros sata, Ver flores, Thus holocausta facit.
Sic tu Ros, Ver, Thus, geris hæc tria, Ros sata verbi,
Ver floris morum, Thus holocausta precum.”

Upon the same another framed this—

“Robertus titulo dotatur triplice, Roris
Temperie, Veris dulcedine, Thuris odore.”

Upon the same name and invention I have also found this—

“Es benè Ros, Ver, Thus; Ros es quòd nectare stillas,
Ver quòd flore vires, Thus, quia mente sapias,
Ros (inquam) Ver, Thus: Ros qui dulcedine stillat,
Ver quod flore nitet, Thus quod odore sapit.
Nam quòd tu sis Ros, Ver, Thus, perhibet tua Roris
Temperies, Veris gratia, Thuris odor.”

Upon the same name Robertus, another made Rubur, Thus, with this Distich—

“Tu benè Robertus quasi Robur, Thus: benè Robur,
Nam virtute viges; Thus, quia mente sapias.”

When Pandulphus, the Pope's Nuncio, came into England, a Scholar smoothened him with this foolish allusion—

“Te totum dulcor perfundit, & indè vocaris
Pandulphus, quid Pan nisi totum? Dul nisi dulcor?
Phus nisi fufus? id est, totus dulcedine fufus.”

One in a dedication alluded unto Roger, an Ecclesiastical person, in this Verse—

“Qui Cleri Rogeri Rosam geris, annue vati.”

A poor Poet begging of one whose name was John, which is in Hebrew the grace of God, begged of him by praising his name in this manner—

“Nomen habes non immeritò, Divina, Johannes,
Gratia, voce sua conveniente rei.

Ergo vel gratus summo, vel gratia summi
 Es, pro parte mea casus uterque facit.
 Si summo gratus, ergo pietatis alumnus,
 Ergo pauperibus ferre teneris opem."

Another played upon the name of Turbervill, when practising with the French; he played first with his Sovereign K. Edward the First—

"Turbat tranquilla clam Thomas *Turbida Villa*."

These may seem over many in so slight a matter, yet I will in respect of the persons offer you two or three more to be regarded. William, Lord Montjoy, famous for his Learning, great Grandfather to Charles, late Earl of Denshire (who was no less famous for hereditary love of Learning), when he was the Queen's Chamberlain, in an Epistle to Erasmus, called King Henry the Eighth Octavius, for Octavius, resembling him thereby to Octavius Augustus, the only mirror of Princely virtues.

Lady Jane Grey, Daughter to the Duke of Suffolk, who pay'd price of others' ambition with her blood, for her excellency in the Greek tongue was called for Greia, Graia, and this made to her honour in that respect:

"Miraris Janam Graio sermone valere?
 Quo nata est primùm tempore, *Graia* fuit."

When the Duke of Buckingham was put to death by the practice of Cardinal Wolsey, a Butcher's son, the Emperour Charles the Fifth said, It was great pity that so fair and goodly a Buck should be worried to death by a Butcher's curr; alluding either to the name of Buckingham, or to a Buck, which was a badge of honour to that Family.

Domingo, a Spaniard, in the time of Queen Mary, offended with an English man that called him Domingus, told him he was Dominicus; but

he was, I assure you, more highly offended when he after for Dominicus called him Dæmoniacus.

In the beginning of her late Majesties reign, one alluded to her name Elizabetha, with Illæsa Beata, that is, Safe without hurt, and happy. The sence whereof, as the Almighty by his fatherly mercy performed in her person, so she by her motherly providence under God effected in this Realm in blisful peace and plenty, whereas contrariwise other confining Regions have been overwhelmed with all kind of miseries. The cause whereof one in these last French broyls referred by Allusion to Spania and Mania, two Greek words, signifying Penury and Fury; but implying therein closely the late King of Spain and Duke du Main.¹

REBUS, OR NAME-DEVISES.

MANY approved Customs, Laws, Manners, Fashions, and Phrases have the English always borrowed of their Neighbours the French, especially since the time of King Edward the Confessour, who resided long in France, and is charged by Historians of his time to have returned from thence wholly Frenchified; then by the Norman Conquest which immediately ensued, after by the honourable Alliances of the Kings of England with the most renowned Families, yea, and with the very Royal House of France. But after that the triumphant victorious King Edward the

When and
upon what
occasion
they first
began.

¹ Many more puns upon names, good, bad, and indifferent, may be found in my "English Surnames."

Third had traversed France with his victories, and had planted English Colonies in Calice, Hammes, and Guynes, our people bordering upon the pregnant Picardes began to admire their fooleries in painted Poesies. For whereas a Poesie is a speaking picture, and a picture a speechless Poesie, they which lack'd wit to expresse their conceit in speech did use to depaint it out (as it were) in pictures, which they called Rebus, by a Latine name well fitting their device. These were so well liked by our English there, and, sent over the streight of Calice with full sail, were so entertained here (although they were most ridiculous) by all degrees; by the learned and unlearned, that he was no body that could not hammer out of his name an invention by this wit-craft, and picture it accordingly: whereupon who did not busie his brain to hammer his device out of this forge?

Sir Thomas Cavall, whereas Cavall signifieth an Horse, engraved a gallopping horse in his seal, with this limping verse:

"Thomæ credite, cū cernitis ejus equum."

So John Eagleshead, as it seemeth, to notifie his name about his Armes, as I have seen in an old Seal with an Eagle's head, set down this:

"Hoc aquilæ caput est, signumque figura Johannis."

The Abbot of Ramsey more wisely set in his Seal a Ram in the Sea, with this Verse, to shew his superiority in the Convent:

"Cujus signa gero dux gregis est, ut ego."

William Chaundler, Warden of New-colledge, in Oxford, playing with his own name, so filled the Hall-windows with candles, and these words, "Fiat lux," that he darkned the Hall: Whereupon the

Vidam of Chartres, when he was there, said, It should have been "Fiant tenebræ."

Did not that amorous Youth mystically ex-Prefs his love to Rose Hill, whom he courted, when in the border of his painted cloth he caused to be painted as rudely as he devised grossly, a Rose, an Hill, an Eye, a Loaf, and a Well? that is, if you will spell it:

"Rose Hill I love well."¹

You may imagine that Francis Cornefield did scratch his elbow when he had sweetly invented to signifie his name, Saint Francis with his Friery kowle in a Corn-field.

No less witty was that of James Denton, Dean of Lichfield, by making a statue in copper (which stood in the Quire of that Cathedral, on a Desk whereon the great Bible lay) in the habit of a Pilgrim, viz. with his Scrip, Staffe, and Escallop-shells (alluding to S. James the Apostle) to exprefs his Christian name; intending that his office of Dean should demonstrate the first syllable of his Surname, and a Tun under his feet the latter.

Nor that of Roger Wall, sometime Dean likewise of that Church, whose picture in glass, kneeling before our Lady, was in a South window there, close by a fair embatteled wall, (under which, near unto him, sat a Roe-buck, with Ger written on his side) this Distich in a scroule coming from his mouth:

"Gignens virgo Deum; decus, Lux, & Flos mulierum
Digneris Murum semper servare Rogerum."

¹ This reminds us of a South-Down lass in the days of our grandfathers, who replied to an offer of marriage with a stroke produced by the end of a burnt stick and a lock of wool pinned to the paper, "I *wull*!"

Neither did a Canon of that Church, whose name was John ap Harry, a little strain himself to represent his name, when he caused in one of the windows of his lodging an Eagle to be depicted, to signifie his Christian name, scil. Joh. i. in regard it is the badge commonly used where S. John the Evangelist is pictured; and an Ape with a Hare supporting a sheaf of Rye, to exprefs his surname.

It may seem doubtful whether Bolton, Prior of Saint Bartholomews in Smithfield, was wiser when he invented for his name a Bird-bolt through a Tun, or when he built him an house upon Harrow Hill, for fear of an inundation after a great conjunction of Planets in the watry Triplicity.

Islip, Abbot of Westminster, a man most favoured by King Henry the Seventh, had a quadruple device for his single name; for somewhere he set up in his windows an eye with a slip of a tree; in other places one slipping boughs in a tree: in other an J with the said slip; and in some one slipping from tree with the word Islip.

Whosoever devised for Thomas Earl of Arundel a capital A in a Rundle, wherewith he decked an house which he built, did think I warrant you, that he did the Noble man great honour.

No less did he like his invention, which for Sir Anthony Wingfield devised a Wing with these four Letters, F. E. L. D. quarterly about it, and over the Wing a cross, to shew he was a Christian, and on the cross a red Rose, to shew that he followed the house of Lancaster.

Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, a man of great wisdom, and born to the universal good of this Realm, was content to use Mor upon a Tun; and sometime a Mulberry tree called Morus in Latine, out of a Tun. So Luton, Thorneton, Ashton, did

notifie their names with a Lute, a Thorn, an Ash upon a Tun. So an Hare on a bottle for Harebottle; a Magpie upon a Goat for Pigot; An Hare by a sheaf of Rie in the Sun for Harrifon; Med written on a calf for Medcalfe; Chester, a chest with a Star over it; Allet, a Lot; Lionel Ducket, a Lion with L on his head, whereas it should have been in his tail. If the Lion had been eating a Duck, it had been a rare device worth a duckat, or a duck-egge. And if you require more, I refer you to the witty inventions of some Londoners, but that for Garret Dews is most memorable, two in a Garret casting Dews at Dice. This for Rebus may suffice, and yet if there were more, I think some lips would like such kind of Lettuce. In part to excuse them yet, some of the greatest Romans were a little blasted with this foolery, if you so censure it. Our great Master Cicero, in a Dedication of his to his gods, inscribed Marcus Tullius and that little pulse less than a pease, which we call (I think) a chich-pease, and the Latines Cicer, in stead of Cicero. As in the Coins of Julius Cæsar we have seen an Elephant, for so Cæsar signifieth in the Mauritanian Tongue: and the two Mint-masters in that Age, L. Aquilius Florus, and Voconius Vitulus, the one used a Flower, the other a Calf in the reverses of their Coyns, alluding to their Names.¹

¹ Several other rebuses are given, with illustrative cuts, in my "Eng. Surn." vol. ii.

ANAGRAMS.

THE only Quintessence that hitherto the Alchymy of wit could draw out of names, is, Anagrammatisme or Metagrammatisme, which is a dissolution of a Name truly written into his Letters as his Elements, and a new connexion of it by artificial transposition, without addition, subtraction, or change of any Letter into different words, making some perfect sence applicable to the person named.

The precise in this practice strictly observing all the parts of the definition are only bold with H. either in omitting or retaining it, for that it cannot challenge the right of a letter. But the Licentiats somewhat licentiously, lest they should prejudice poetical liberty, will pardon themselves for doubling or rejecting a letter, if the sence fall aptly, and think it no injury to use E for Æ, V for W, S for Z, and C for K and contrariwise.

The French exceedingly admire and celebrate this faculty for the deep and far fetched antiquity, the piked fines and the mystical significations thereby: for that Names are divine notes, and divine notes do notifie future events; so that events consequently must lurk in names, which only can be pryed into by this mystery. Affirming that each man's fortune is written in his Name, as Astrologians say all things are written in Heaven, if a man could read them; they exemplifie out of the Rabbins, they quote dreaming Artemidorus, with other allegations, they urge particular experiments, and so enforce the matter with strong words and

weak proofs, that some credulous young men, hovering between hope and fear, might easily be carried away by them into the forbidden superstition of Onomantia, or South-saying by names.

Some of the fowre sort will say it is nothing but a troublous joy, and because they cannot attain to it will condemn it, lest by commending it, they should discommend themselves. Others more mild, will grant it to be a dainty device and disport of wit not without pleasure, if it be not wrested out of the name to the reproach of the person. And such will not deny, but that as good names may be ominous, so also good Anagrams, with a delightful comfort and pleasant motion in honest minds, in no point yielding to any vain pleasures of the body. They will also afford it some commendations in respect of the difficulty; (*"Difficilia quæ pulchra,"*) as also that it is a whetstone of patience to them that shall practice it. For some have been seen to bite their pen, scratch their heads, bend their brows, bite their lips, beat the board, tear their paper, when they were fair for somewhat, and caught nothing herein.

If profound antiquity, or the inventor may commend an invention, this will not give place to many. For as the great Masters of the Jews testifie, Moses received of God a Literal Law, written by the finger of God, in the two Tables of the ten Commandments, to be imparted to all; and another Mystical, to be communicated only to seventy men, which by tradition they should pass to their posterity, whereof it was called Cabala, which was divided into Mercana, concerning only the sacred names of God, and Bresith, of other names consisting of Alphabetary revolution, which they will have to be Anagrammatism; by which they say Marie, resolved, made Our holy Mistrifs. But whether this Cabala is more

ancient than the Talmudical Learning, hatched by the curious Jews (as some will) about 200 years after Christ, let the learned consider.

The Greeks refer this invention to Lycophron, (as Isaas Tzetzes hath it in his Preface to his obscure Poem Cassandra) who was one of those Poets which the Greeks called the seven Stars, or Pleiades, and flourished about the year 380 before Christ, in the time of Ptolemæus Philadelphus, King of Egypt, whose name he thus Anagrammatized :

ΗΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ.

Ἀπὸ μέλιτος, Made of hony.

And upon Arsinoe, his wife, thus :

ΑΡΣΙΝΟΗ.

Ἐκασ ἰον, Juno's violet.

Afterward, as appeareth by Eustachius, there were some Greeks disported themselves therein, as he which turned Atlas for his heavy burthen in supporting Heaven, to Talas, that is, wretched ; Arete, Vertue, into Erate, that is lovely ; Ilaros, merry, into Liaros, that is, warm. But in late years, when Learning revived under Francis the First in France, the French began to distill their wits herein, for there was made for him :

Francis de Valoys.

De facon suis royal.

For his Son :

Henry de Valoys.

Royes de nulhay.

For Charles of Borbon, the Prince of Conde :

Borbonius.

Orbi bonus.

For the late Queen of Scotland, his Majesties Mother,

Maria Stevarta.

Veritas armata.

Her unhappy fate, by deprivation from her Kingdom, and violent death, was expressed in this ; but after her death :

Maria Stewarda Scotorum Regina.
Trufa vi regnis, morte amara cado.

And that Greek one, which is most excellent, of the sacred name of our sweet Saviour Jesus, according to that of the 53 of Es. "He is brought as a sheep to the slaughter," thus :

ΙΗΣΟΥΣ.
ΕΤ, 'Η ΟΙΣ, that is, Thou art that sheep.

The Italians, who now admire them, began not 30 years since to use them, as the Bishop of Graffa a professour herein testifieth.

In England I know some, who 40 years since have bestowed some idle hours herein with good success ; albeit our English names, running rough with cragged consonants, are not so smooth and easie for transposition as the French and Italian. Yet I will set down some which I have happened upon, framed out of the names of divers great personages, and others, in most of the which the sence may seem applicable to their good parts.

To begin with his most excellent Majesty our dread Sovereign was made this, declaring his undoubted rightful claim to the Monarchy of Britain, as the successour of the valorous King Arthur :

Charles James Stuart,
Claims Arthur's seat.

As this, also truly verified in his person :

Jacobus Sextus Stuartus.
Vita castus, ex se robustus.

This likewise, made by D. Gwin :

Jacobus Rex Britannorum.
Arx bonis ubi numa rector.

The happiness of our gracious Queen Anne, his wife, by her issue, was prophesied in this :

Anna Britannorum Regina.
In Anna regnantium arbor.

For their graceful issue Prince Charles, the Lady Elizabeth, and her husband the Count Palatine, were made these by the said D. Gwin :

Carolus Dux Eboracensis.
En rosa lux et decus orbis.
Carolus Eborum & Albaniae Dux.
Rubenti rosæ cum alba lux a Deo.
Carolus Stuartus Princeps.
Tun' proles successura patri ?
Carolus Stuartus Princeps.
Propter jus clarus, sanctus.
Elisabetha Stuarta.
Salutaris, et beata.
Fredericus Princeps Palatinus.
In fide pura pars sceptris lucens.
Fredericus Comes Palatinus.
Sponsa electa fruimur, dices.
Fredericus Elector Palatinus.
Ille frui sponsa recte dicatur.

For our late Queen of most happy memory, to whose gracious government under God, we owe much happiness, I have found the letters of Elizabetha Regina transposed to signify that happiness, as speaking unto her in this sense :—O England's Sovereign, thou hast made us happy : thus—

Elizabetha Regina.
Anglia hera, beasti.

And whereas the French compare Anagrams by themselves to gems, but when they are cast into a distich or Epigram, to gems enchased in enameled gold : This distich was then made thereon with a most humble and dutiful wish :

Nos Anglos radiis hera nostra beata beasti,
Sis hera nostra solo, sis Dea sera polo."

The same blessedness of her Majesty to England's
unspeakable good, and her joyful reign, were noted
thus out of

Elizabetha regina.
Angliæ eris beata.
Eia, læta regnabis.

Carolus Utenhovius, my good friend, made this 40
years since in Greek, when he attended here upon
Monsieur Foix, Ambassadour from the French King:

Ελιζαβηθ' ἡ βασίλισσα.
ΖΑΘΕΗ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΗΣ ΑΙΒΑΣ.

that is, The divine dew of her Kingdom.

Likewise out of the Greek was this :

ΗΑΙΣΑΒΕΘΑ.
ΘΕΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΗ.

that is, a Goddess Queen.

Her most mild Government of her subjects, and
Lyon-like courage against her Spanish enemies, was
thus declared out of

Elizabetha Regina Angliæ.
Anglis agna, Hiberiæ lea.

Whereas she was a Sweep-net for the Spanish
ships, which (as the Athenians said of their fortunate
Timothy) happily fell into her net: this was made by
transposing of

Elizabetha Regina Angliæ.
Genti Hiberæ
Illa sagena.

In respect of her great wars exploited against that
mighty Monarch, this was wrought out of

Elizabetha Anglorum Regina.
Magna bella tu heroina geris.

The good government of her Majesty was thus
noted under the name of the flourishing Muse Thalia:

ANAGRAMS.

Elisabetha Regina.
Bene thalia regis.

In this following was comprised the wish then of all true English :

Elisabetha Regina Anglorum.
Gloria regni salva manebit.

Have now some framed upon the names of divers honourable personages and others, lovers, I hope of good letters ; neither let any conceive offensively, if they are not here remembered : I have imparted all that came to my hands.

Out of the name of the late right reverend the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the mirror of Prelates in our days, was found this, in respect of his mild proceedings :

Joannes Whitegiftius.
Non vi egit, favit ihesus.

For the Lord Chancellor, Lord Ellesmer :

Thomas Egerton.
Gestat honorem.

"Oris honore viget, Ut mentis gestat honorem
Juris Egertonus, dignus honore coli."

For the late Lord Treasurer, a most prudent and honourable Councillour to two mighty Princes :

Gulielmus Cecilius Baro Burglio.
Vigili cum labore illuces regibus.

"Regibus illuces vigili Gulielme labore,
Nam clarè fulget lux tua luce Dei."

For the Earl of Notingham, Lord Admiral :

Carolus Howard.
Charus ardua leo.

For the Earl of Northumberland :

Henricus Percius.
Hic pure sincerus.

Upon which, with relation to the Crescent or silver Moon, his Cognifance was framed this :

"Percius 'hic pure sincerus,' Percia Luna
Candida tota micat, pallet at illa polo."

This was made as a wish, to the Earl of Shrewsbury, that his name and Talbot may be as terrible to the French as it was when the French so feared his progenitour John, Lord Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, of that family :

Gilbertus Talbottius.
Gallos tu tibi turbes.

"Ut proavi proavus, sic 'Gallos tu tibi turbes,'
Sic Galli timeant teque tuumque canem."

This was, by transposition Anagrammatical, framed out of the name of the Earl of Worcester :

Edwardus Somerset,
Moderatus, sed Verus.

This out of the name of the Earl of Rutland :

Rogerus Maners.
Amor refurgens.

Out of the name of the Earl of Cumberland, in respect of his Sea service then, alluding to his fiery Dragon the Creaft of his family :

Georgius Clifordius Cumberlandius.
Doridis regno clarus cum vi fulgebis.

"In Doridis regno clarus fulgebis, & undis,
Cum vi victor erit flammeus ille Draco."

Out of the name of the Earl of Suffex :

Robertus Ratclifus,
Sicut rarus florebit.

For the Earl of Suthampton :

Henricus Wriothesleius.
Heroicus, Lætus, vi virens.

For the Earl of Devon, Lord Montjoy :

Carolus Blountus.

Bonus, ut sol clarus.

"Tu bonus ut sol clarus, Nil clarius illo
Cælo, te melior Carole nemo solo."

Out of the name of the late Earl of Salisbury, Vicount Cranborn, and L. Cecil, whom, as his honourable father and the whole family, I cannot in duty name, without honour, was made thus :

Robertus Cecilus.

Tu orbi relucescis.

Sic tu sub rore cœli.

With this Distich :

"Orbe relucescis, cœli sub rore virescens;
Quem Deus irradiat lumine, rore lavat."

This transpose of the letters in the name of the Lord Lumley doth seem prophetically to promise many years unto that worthy and good old man :

Joannes Lumleius.

Annos Mille vives.

Out of the name of the late Lord Hunfdon, Lord Chamberlain, and his Crest the white Swan, was this Anagram and Distich thereon composed :

Georgius Carius Hunfdonius.

Hujus in suos candor egregius.

"Hunfdonii egregius resplendet pectore candor,
Hujus ut in cygno nil nisi candor inest."

For the Lord Compton, in respect of his honourable parentage and generous spirit, comparable with the best :

Gulielmus Comptonius.

Illius genius cum optimo.

In single Surnames there have been found out for the late Earl of Essex, whose surname is D'eureux:

Vere dux.

This also was cast into this Distich, since he so valorously took Gades, now called Cales, in Spain, as soon as he saw it, when it was accounted so honourable to Hercules to have seen it once :

“Vere Dux D'eureux, & verior Hercule ; Gades
Nam semel hic vidit, vicit at ille simul.”

For the worthy and compleat Knight Sir Fulk Grevil, who excelleth in stately Heroical verse, in Grevilius, Vergilius, in Vernon, Renoun, &c. But here it is time to stay, for some of the sower fort begin to laugh at these, when as yet they have no better insight in Anagrams than wise Sieur Gaulard, who when he heard a Gentleman report that he was at a supper where they had not only good company and good chear, but also savoury Epigrams and fine Anagrams, he, returning home, rated and belovted his Cook as an ignorant scullion that never dressed or served up to him either Epigrams or Anagrams. And as for these sower furlings, they are to be commended to Sieur Gaulard, and he with them joyntly to their Cooks and kitchen-stuff.¹

MONEY.

IT is a received opinion that in most ancient ages there was only bartery or change of wares and commodities amongst most nations. As in Homer, Glaucus' golden armour was valued at one hundred cows, and Diomedes' at ten. Afterward, in commutative Jus-

¹ A selection of Anagrams will be found in my “Eng. Surn.” vol. ii.

tice it was thought most necessary to have a common measure and valuation, as it were, of the equality and inequality of wares, which was invented first, as the Jews gather out of Josephus, in the time of Cain. Certainly, it was in use in the time of Abraham, as appeareth both by the 400 Sheckles he payed for a place of burial, Genes. 23, and the money which Joseph's brethren carried into Ægypt, Genes. 42.

The Greeks refer the invention of it to Hermodice, the wife wife of the foolish asse-eared Midas, as the Latines to Janus. This common measure or mean to reduce wares to an equality was called by the Greeks Nomisma, not from King Numa, but of Nomos, because it was ordained by law; by the Latines Pecunia, either for that all their wealth in elder times consisted in cattel, as now among the Irish, or that their first coyn (as Pliny will) was stamped with a Cow (although in a general signification Pecunia comprised all goods, moveable and immoveable). It was also by them called Moneta in a more restrict signification, à Monendo (as Suidas saith) because when the Romans stood in need of money, Juno admonished them to use justice, and there should be no want of money: the effect whereof when they found, she was surnamed Juno Moneta, and money was coyned in her Temple. And albeit money had no temple erected to it at Rome for a long time, yet it was as much honoured as either Peace, Faith, Victory, Vertue; or according to that of Juvenal:

“Et si funesta pecunia templo
Nondum habitat, nullas nummorum ereximus aras,
Ut colitur Pax, atque Fides, Victoria, Virtus,” &c.

But afterward, when as all God's gifts were by Pagans made Gods and Goddeses, Money was also

enfrined by the name of Dea Pecunia, in the figure of a woman holding a pair of ballances in one hand and Cornucopia in another : unto whom I doubt not but as many commit Idolatry now as then ; when as the Greek proverb will be always verified, *Chremata, Chremata Aner*, Money, Money is the man, yea, and the fifth Element. And as he saith :

“ Uxorem cum dote, fidemque, & amicos,
Et genus & formam Regina Pecunia donat.”

From the Latin word *Moneta* came the old word among our English-Saxon Ancestours *Munet*, which we now call Money, as the Germans *Muntz*, the French *Monoies*, the Italians *Moneta*, and the Spaniards *Moneda*. Which, as Civilians note, must consist of matter, form, weight, and value : for the matter, copper, is thought to have been first coined ; afterward silver, for the cleanness, beauty, sweetness, and brightness ; and lastly gold, as more clean, more beautiful, more sweet, more bright, more rare, more pliable and portable, aptest to receive form, and divisible without loss, never wasted by fire, but more purified, not lessened by occupying, rust or scurf ; abiding fretting, and liquors of Salt and Vinegar without damage ; and may be drawn without wooll, as if it were wooll. So that these two metals have been chosen amongst all civil nations, as by the common consent, to be the instruments of exchange and measure of all things. Albeit other matter hath been used for money, as among the ancient Britains, besides brasse, and iron rings, or, as some say, iron plates reduced to certain weight ; and among the Lacedemonians iron lingets quenched with vinegar, that they may serve to no other use ; and now the Indians have their Cacoas in some parts, and shells in other, to serve for money. There also

hath been stamped money of leather, as appeareth by Seneca, who mentioned that there was in ancient time *Corium forma publica percussum*: and also that Frederick the Second, when he besieged Millan, stamped leather for currant. And there is a tradition that in the confused state of the Barons' War, the like was used in England, yet I never saw any of them. But we have seen money made by the Hollanders of pastbord, *anno* 1574.

As for form, because I hasten home, it were impertinent to note here how the Jews, albeit they detested Images, yet they imprinted upon their sheckle on the one side the Gold pot which had the Manna, with this inscription in Hebrew—*Siclus Israelis*, *i.e.* *Sydlus Israelis*; and on the other side the rod of Aaron, with buds and blossoms, and Hierusalem Sancta. Or how the Dardanians stamped in their coynstwo Cocksfighting; Alexander his Horse Bucephalus; the Athenians an Owle or an Oxe, from whence came the Proverb against bribing Lawyers, *Bos in Lingua*. They of Ægina a Snayl, whereof also rose another Proverb, "*Virtutem & Sapientiam vincunt testudines*," for that money goeth beyond both valour and wisdom.

As for the Romans, as they did set down the Image and Inscription of the Consul while the Commonwealth flourished, afterwards of the Emperour on the one side, so they changed the reverse always upon new events or exploits; and it is supposed by some that the great ounce Medalls both of brasse and gold were stamped for honour, and to continue the memory of Princes: nevertheless they were currant as well as the smallest. And this manner of stamping the Prince's image upon coyns was continued amongst all civil nations; only the Turks and other Mahumetans in detestation of Images inscribed the

Prince's name and year of the transmigration of their prophet Mahomet, which happened in the year of our Lord 622.

After the arrival of the Romans in this Isle the Britains imitated them ; for they coyned both gold and copper, and yet there are extant some of Cunobelin, King of Essex and Middlesex, with a beardless image inscribed Cunobelin, and in the reverse, some with an Horse ; some with a Coyner and Tascio ; some with two heads conjoined and Cuno, and in the reverse either an Hog under a tree with Camu, or one ear of corn with Camu, to note as it seemeth Camalodunum, as they then called it, now Maldon, which was the principal seat of the Kingdome. There are likewise some to be seen of that famous Brunducia, which only I hear of, but hitherto have not seen.

When the Romans had extinguished the Kings here they suppressed the British coyns, and brought in their own as a proof of their conquest, which were currant here from the time of Claudius unto Valentinian the younger, the space of some 500 years. And whereas all the money for this part of the world was coyned a long time, either at Rome, Lyons, or Trier, Constantine as it seemed erected a Mynt at London ; for we have seen copper coyn of him with P. Lond. S. implying Pecunia Londini signata : and there was an Officer as Treasurer of this Mynt at London called Præpositus Thesaurorum Augusten-sium ; For London was called Augusta in the declining state of the Empire. Of these Roman coyns great plenty have been found, and dayly are found, which were hid (as the Saxon Cronicle faith) when Maximus carried so many Britains into France with him, and at divers other times overcovered in the

Mint at
London
in the
Romans'
time.

ground in the suddain ruinating of Towns by the Saxons and others.

After the Romans had given over the possession of this Realm, it seemeth probable that their coyn was still currant here a long time ; for there never as yet, as far as I understand, have been any coyns found of Vortiger, Vortimer, Aurelius, Ambrosius, Arthur, and others which lived in those times. As for the Britains or Welsh, whatsoever Jura Majestatis their Princes had, I cannot understand that they ever had any coyn of their own, for no learned of that Nation have at any time seen any found in Wales or elsewhere. The most ancient English coyn which hitherto hath come to my sight, was of Ethelbert, King of Kent, the first Christian King of our English Nation, and in that Age and succeeding times all Mony-accounts passed by the name of Pence, Shillings, Pounds and Mancuses. Pence seemeth to be borrowed from their Latine word Pecunia, or rather from Pendo, for the just weight thereof, which weighed about three pennies of our money, and were rudely stamped with the King's Image on the one side, and the Mint-master's on the other, or else the name of the City where they were coyned. Five of these pence made their shilling, which they called scilling, probably from scilingus, which the Romans used for the fourth part of an ounce, L. 21 parag. filium ; and forty eight of the scillings made their pound, and 400 of these pounds were a legacy for a King's daughter, as appeareth by the last Will and Testament of King Alfred. By these names they translated all summs of money in their old English Testament, as Talents, by Pundes ; the thirty silver pieces, Judas's price of treason, by *thirtig scillinga* ; tribute money by Penining ; the farthing and mite by Feortling. Only the Stater found in the fish's

Pence.

Shilling.

Pound.

mouth by Weeg, which we now translate a piece of 20 pence. But they had no other coyned money but pence only, the rest were names of numbers or weights. Weeg.

Thirty of these pence, as Alfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his Saxon Grammar notes, made a Mancus, which some think to be all one with a Mark, for that Manca and Mancusa is translated in ancient Books by Marca. And Manca, as appeareth by an old fragment, was *quinta pars uncie*. They reckoned these Mancuse or Mancus, both in gold and silver: For about the year of our Lord 680 Ina, King of the West Saxons, as we read in Malmfbury, enforced the Kentish men for to redeem their peace at the price of thirty thousand Mancas of gold. In the notes upon King Canutus Laws I find this difference, that Mancusa was as much as a Mark of silver; and Manca was a square piece of gold, commonly valued at thirty pence. Mancuse.

The Danes also brought in a reckoning of Money by Ores, per Oras, which is mentioned in Domesday-book. Whether it were a several coyn, or a certain sum, I know not, but I collect out of the Abbey-book of Burton that 20 Oræ were ratable to two Marks of silver. I may also suppose that the Sound of Denmarke, where Ships pay toll for passage, called Ore-found, hath the denomination from this Ores. In Doomes-day-book there is also mention of "*Libræ arfæ, pensatæ, ad numerum, & de albo Argento,*" which implieth in my opinion Moneystryed for their allay by fire, payed by weight, number, and in bullion. Ores.

Gold they had also which was not of their own coyn, but Out-landish; which they called in Latine Bizantini, as coyned at Constantinople, sometime called Bizantium, and not at Befanfon in Burgundy. This Coyn is not now known; but Dunstan, Arch- Bizantines or Bezants.

bishop of Canterbury, (as it is in the Authentical deed) purchased Hendon in Middlesex of King Edgar to Westminster, for 200 Bizantines: of what value they were was utterly forgotten in the time of King Edward the Third; for whereas the Bishop of Norwich was condemned to pay a Bizantine of gold to the Abbot of Saint Edmunds-bury, for encroaching upon his liberty (as it was enacted by Parliament in the time of the Conquerour), no man then living could tell how much that was, so as it was referred to the King to rate how much he should pay. Which I do much marvell at, when, as but one hundred years before, two hundred thousand Bizants were exacted of the Soldan for the redeeming of Saint Lewis of France, which were then valued at an hundred thousand Lieurs. The name continueth yet in the blazon of Arms, where Plates of Gold are called Bezantees; and in the Court of England, where a great piece of Gold valued at fifteen pound, which the King offereth upon high Festival days, is yet called a Bizantine: which anciently was a piece of Gold coyned by the Emperours of Constantinople; but afterward there were two purposely made for the King and Queen with the resemblance of the Trinity inscribed, "In honorem sanctæ Trinitatis," and on the other side the Picture of the Virgin Mary, with "In honorem sanctæ Mariæ Virginis:" and this was used till the first year of King James, who upon just reason caused two to be new cast, the one for himself, having on the one side the Picture of a King kneeling before an Altar, with four Crowns before him, implying his four Kingdoms, and in the Circumscription, "Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ tribuit mihi?" on the other side a Lamb lying by a Lion, with "Cor contritum & humiliatum non despiciet Deus." And in another for the Queen, a

Jonville,
in the
Life of
S. Lewis,
cap. 42.

Crown protected by a Cherubin, over that an eye, and "Deus" in a cloud, with "Teget alâ summus;" on the reverse a Queen kneeling before an Altar, with this circumscription, "Piis precibus, fervente fide, humili obsequio."

But to our purpose. Albeit the coyning of money is an especial right and prerogative of Sovereign Majesty, yet our ancient Saxon Kings communicated it to their subjects; for there was in every good Town one coyners, but at London eight; at Canterbury four for the King, two for the Archbishop, one for the Abbot; at Winchester six; at Rochester three; two at Hastings; so at Hampton, Excester, Shaftesbury, Lewis,¹ and Chichester; at which time false coyners lost their hands by Law.

The Norman Kings continued the same form, coyning only pence with the Prince's Image on the one side, and on the other the name of the City where it was coyned, with a cross so deeply impressed that it might be easily parted and broken into two halves, which so broken they called Half-pence, and if into four parts, they called them fourthings, or Farthings.

Grievous were the punishments* of false coyners in this Age, who were punished by putting out of eyes, cutting off hands and genitals. Great also was the disorder: For in King Stephen's time every Earl and Baron erected his Mint; but Henry the Second suppressed them all,† altered the coyn, which was corrupted by counterfeitours, to the great good of the Common-weale, but dammage of some private men: he also granted liberty of coyning to certain Cities and Abbies, allowing them one staple and two puncheons at a rate, with certain restrictions. In the

Leg. Athelstani, cap. 19 (Sax. 14), vide Hist. Anglic. Script. col. 843. 31, & col. 899. 8.

Vide Hist. Anglic. Script. col. 2377. 60.

* Ib. col. 808. 45, 923. 30, 254. 37, 231. 6, 504. 21, 1000. 49, 2377. 59. † Matth. Paris in an. 1180.

¹ Lewes.

Hic fallit
doctif. in
Cambden,
ficut per
Gloflari-
um v. cl.
Guil.
Somneri
in Hift.
Angl.
Script. vo-
cab. Efte-
lingus lu-
culenter
patet.
Sterling
money.

time of his fon, King Richard the Firft, money coyned in the Eaft parts of Germany began to be of efpecial request in England for the purity thereof, and was called Eaſterling money, as all the Inhabitants of thoſe parts were called Eaſterlings, and ſhortly after ſome of that Country, ſkilful in Mint matters and allaies, were ſent for into this Realm to bring the coyn to perfection ; which ſince that time was called of them Sterling, for Eaſterling, not from Striveling in Scotland, nor from a Star, which ſome dreamed to be coyned thereon ; for in old deeds they are always called Nummi Eſterlingi, which implied as much as good and lawful money of England, or Proba Moneta among the Civillins, and Monoy de Roy in France. Otho, a German, was the principal among theſe Eaſterlings, and in old Records is called Otho Cuneator, who grew to ſuch wealth that Thomas his ſon, ſurnamed Fitz-Othes, married one of the co-heirs of Beauchamp, Baron of Bedford ; was Lord of Mendleſham in Suffolk, and held in fee to make the coyning ſtamps ſerving for all England : which office deſcended by an heir general to the Baron Boute-tort, from whom Ferrers of Tamworth, Berklays of Stoke, Knivets and others are lineally deſcended.

Nevertheless this Eaſterling good money was in a ſhort time ſo corrupted and clipped by Jews, Italian Uſurers, called then Corſini (who were the firſt Chriſtians that brought in uſury among us), and Flemings, that the King by Proclamation was enforced to call in the old money, make a new ſtamp, and to erect Exchanges where the weight of old money was exchanged for new, allowing thirteen pence for every pound, to the great damage of the people, who beſide their travel, charge, and long attendance received (as my Authour ſaith) of the Bankers ſcant twenty ſhillings for thirty, which the

Mat. Paris
in ann.
1247 &
1248.

Earl of Cornwall farmed of the King, reserving only the third part for the King.

King Edward the First, as he established the measure of an Ell by the length of his arm, imitating therein Carolos Magnus, so he first established a certain standard for the coyn which was prescribed in this manner by Gregory Rockley, Mayor of London, and Mint-master, if I do not misconceive it.

"A pound of money containeth twelve ounces; in a pound there ought to be eleven ounces, two Easterlings and one ferling, and the other allay. The said pound ought to weigh twenty shillings and three pence in account. So that no pound be more than twenty shillings four pence, nor less than twenty shillings two pence in account and in weight.

"The ounce ought to weigh twenty pence, and a penny twenty four grains and a half. Note that eleven ounces two pence ferling ought to be of so pure silver as is called leaf silver, and the Minter must add of other weight seventeen pence half-penny farthing, if the silver be so pure."

This King also first coyned the penny, half-penny, and farthing round, which before were the half part, or fourth part broken of the penny. Whereupon the Chronicles verified hereby a Prophecy of Merlin, "Findetur forma commercii, dimidium rotundum erit," and thereupon these Rhimes were made at that time.

"Edward did smite round penny, half-penny, farthing;
The cross passes the bond of all throughout the ring.
The King's side was his head, and his name written;
The cross side, what City it was in coyned and smitten.
To poor man to priest the penny fraies nothing,
Men give God aie the least, they feast him with a farthing.
A thousand two hundred fourscore years and moe
On this money men wondred, when it first began to go."

The same King likewise called in certain coun-

82.

3 E. 1.

Book of
S. Ed-
munds
Bury.

M. Paris
referreth
this to
the time
of K.
John.
De assissa
& pon-
dere
Monetæ.
ac de
retonfo-
ribus &
falsonariis
ejusdem
destruen-
dis, vide
Pat. 6,
Joh. m. 3.
in dorso.

Vide Hist.
Angl.
Script. col.
611.41 &
col. 2377.
60, &
2463.6,
& 62, &
2493.65,
7 E. 1.

terfeit pieces coined by the French, called Pollards, Crocars, and Rosaryes, whereupon was then made this Ecchoing barbarous Verse :

“ Laude decoreris, nostris sterlinge gereris,
Crocarius, æsque peris, fugias, as rite teneris.”

28 E. 1.

Money so refined was by stealth transported and counterfeited, and foreign coins called Mitres Lyons imported in such quantity that they were forbidden by Proclamation, and 280 Jews executed at London for clipping the King's Coin. Afterward Crocars and Pollards were decried down to an half-penny. Rosaries, Stepings and Staldings forbidden. Black money (what that was I know not, if it were not of Copper, as Maile and Black-maile) was forbidden by King Edward III. upon pain of forfeiture thereof, and Gally half-pence brought hither by the Gallies of Genoa, who had great trade in England, was estoons prohibited by Parliament in the time of King Henry the Fourth; Sufkins and Dodkins¹ by King Henry the Fifth, and Blanks by King Henry the Sixth.

Gold.

About the year 1320 the Kings and States of Christendom began to coin Gold, as the Emperours of Almain, the French King, the Duke of Venice and Genoa, whose pieces were thereupon called Ducats, and our King Edward the Third imitating them, first coined Gold. Why they so long forbare to coin Gold, I know not, unless it were of ignorance, for I think it proceeded not from the Law of Justinian the Emperour, who forbade foreign Princes to coin Gold.

The first Gold that King Edw. III. coined was in the year 1343, and the pieces were called Flo-

¹ *Dodkin* or *Doitkin*, a minute coin, valued at a little more than half a farthing. Both it and *Sufkin* were Dutch coins.

rences, because Florentines were the coiners. Shortly after he coined Nobles, of noble, fair and fine gold, the penny of gold ; afterward the Rose-Noble then currant for six shillings eight-pence, and which our Alchymists do affirm (as an unwritten verity) was made by projection or multiplication Alchymical of Raymund Lully, in the Tower of London, who would prove it as Alchymically, beside the tradition of the Rabbies in that faculty by the inscription ; for as upon the one side there is the King's Image in a Ship, to notifie that he was Lord of the Seas, with his titles, so upon the reverse, a cross floury with Lioneux, inscribed, "Jesús autem transiens per medium eorum ibat." Which they profoundly expound, as Jesús passed invisable and in most secret manner by the middest of Pharisees, so that gold was made by invisable and secret art amidst the ignorant. But others say, that text was the only Amulet used in that credulous warfaring age to escape dangers in battles. This King coined also half Nobles, called then the half-penny of gold, less pieces of gold of threeshillings four pence, and some of twenty pence, called the farthing of gold : and likewise in silver, Groats and half groats, by the advice of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, and then Treasurer of England.

It is memorable that the reverend and learned Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, observed in the Gold of this King, that it came nearest to that of the ancient Romans. As that four Rose-Nobles did weigh an ounce, and were equivalent to the Roman Aurei both in weight and fineness, and six Noble-Angels made an ounce, and were answerable in all points to the old Roman Solidus Aureus. Likewise, in silver coins, that an old sterling groat was equivalent to the Roman Denarius, the half groat

Vide
Hist.
Angl.
Script.
col.
2584.26,
& col.
2678.60.

to the Quinarius, and the old sterling penny to the Sestertius Nummus ; and Sestertium in the Neuter gender (a thousand Sestertii) to five pound sterling, when three shillings four pence went to the ounce ; but now to seven pound ten shillings, according to Sir Thomas Smith's account, when five shillings goeth to the ounce.

The succeeding Kings coined Rose-Nobles and double Rose-Nobles, the Great Sovereigns, with the said inscription, "*Jesus autem transiens per medium eorum ibat ;*" and half Rose-Nobles, with "*Domine ne in furore arguas me ;*" and half Henry-Nobles with the same, and K. H. VI. when he was crowned K. of France, coined the Salut, so shortly contracted for the Salutation, having on the one side the Angel saluting the Virgin Mary, the one holding the Arms of England, the other of France, with the King's Title. On the reverse a cross between a Flower de luce and a Lion passant, with "*Christus vincit, Christus regnat, Christus imperat.*" The George-Noble had S. George, with "*Tale dicata signo mens fluctuare nescit.*" The Angels had "*Per crucem tuam salva nos Christe Redemptor.*" The Sovereigns of K. Edw. VI. and Q. Elizabeth, "*Scutum Fidei proteget eam.*" The Angels of Q. Eliz. "*A domino factum est istud, & est mirabile.*" The Crown of Philip and Mary, "*Mundi salus unica.*" King Henry the Seventh stamped a small coin called Dandyprats ; and first, as I read, coined shillings, whereas before it was a name of weight rather than a coin, on the reverse whereof, as of sixpences, groats, &c. was written, "*Posui Deum adiutorem meum,*" as upon lesser pieces of our Sovereign "*Rosa sine spina :*" for the first coyned the pieces of three pence, three half pence, and three farthings. Upon this former

inscription of "Posui Deum adiutorem meum" a rude Scholar grounded his Apology (when he was charged to have gotten a Fellowship in a Colledge indirectly) by protesting solemnly by his faith and honesty that he came in only by "Posui Deum adiutorem meum." And no marvel, for some are said to have higher place by mediation and help of Angels!

These coins and inscriptions continued until King James having happily attained the whole Monarchy of Great Britain, caused new coins to be made of several stamps, weights, and values, to be current in his Kingdoms, that is to say, one piece of Gold of the value of 20s. sterling, called the Unite, stamped on the one side with his picture formerly used with this stile, "Jacobus Dei Gra. Mag. Britanniaë, Fran. & Hibern. Rex," and on the other side his Arms crowned, with this word, "Faciam eos in gentem unam." One other gold money of ten shillings called the Double Crown, and one of five shillings called the Britain Crown, on the one side with his Picture accustomed, and his stile, as aforesaid; and on the other side his Arms, with this word, "Henricus Rosas, Regna Jacobus." One other piece of four shillings, called the Thistle Crown, having on the one side a Rose crowned, and his title "Ja. D. Gra. Mag. Br. Fr. & Hiber. Rex:" and on the other side a Thistle Flower crowned with this word, "Tueatur unita Deus." Also pieces of two shillings six pence, called Half Crowns, with his Picture accustomed, and this word, "Ja. D. Gr. Rosa sine spina:" and on the other side his Arms, and this word, "Tueatur unita Deus." And for silver monies, pieces of five shillings and two shillings six pence, having on the one side his Picture on Horseback, and his stile

aforesaid: and pieces of twelve pence and fix pence, having his Picture formerly used, and his stile: and on the other side his Arms, with this word, "*Quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo separet.*" Also pieces of two pence, having on the one side a Rose crowned, and about it, "*Ja. D. Gr. Rosa sine spina:*" and on the other side a Thistle Flower crowned, and about it, "*Tueatur unita Deus.*" And one penny having on the one side a Rose, and about it, "*Ja. D. Gr. Rosa sine spina:*" and on the other side a Thistle Flower, with this word, "*Tueatur unita Deus.*" And the half-penny, having on the one side a Rose, and on the other a Thistle Flower.

King Henry the Eighth, who had infinite wealth left by his prudent and sparing Father, and so enriched himself by the spoys of Abbies, by First fruits, Tenths, exactions, and absenties in Ireland, was yet so impoverished by his pompous profusion, that in his later dayes he first corrupted the rich coin of this flourishing Kingdom with Copper, to his great dishonour, the damage of Successours, and the people, although for his advantage for the present. Upon which occasion, that we may insert a tale, when we purpose nothing serious here, Sir John Rainsford meeting Parson Brocke, the principal deviser of the Copper Coin, threatned him to break his head, for that he had made his Sovereign Lord (the most beautiful Prince, King Henry) with a red and copper nose. So base and corrupted with copper were his moneys, as also of King Edward the Sixth, that some of them which were then called Testons, because the King's head was thereon figured, contained but two pence farthing in silver, and other four pence half-penny. But Queen Elizabeth, of thrice happy memory, to her ever Glorious Renown,

considering in the beginning of her Reign by the long suffering of that base and copper moneys, not only her Crown, Nobility, and Subjects of this her Realm to be daily more and more impoverished, the ancient and singular honour and estimation which this Realm of England had beyond all other by plenty of moneys of Gold and Silver, only fine and not base, was hereby decayed, but also by reason of these said base monies, great quantity of forged and counterfeits were daily made and brought from beyond Seas, for the which the ancient fine gold and silver, and the rich Merchandize of this Realm was transported and daily carried out of the same, to the impoverishing thereof, and enriching of others; And finally, hereby all manner of prices of things in this Realm, necessary for sustentation of the people, grew daily excessive, to the lamentable and manifest hurt and oppression of the State, especially of Pensioners, Souldiers, and all hired servants, and other mean people that live by any kind of wages, and not by rents of Lands, or trade of Merchandize. She, upon these considerations, desirous to refine the coin, not according to the legal, but natural estimation of the mettall, first marked the base money, some with a Grey-hound, other with a Portcullices, and other with a Lion, Harp, Rose, or Flower de Lys, and after a time, calling them to her Mint, repayed so much for them as they contained in pure silver; so that by her benefit England enjoyeth as fine or rather finer sterling silver than ever it was in this Realm by the space of two hundred years and more, a matter worth marking and memory. Verily a greater matter than either King Edward the Sixth or Queen Mary durst attempt. Whatsoever doth remain for money, let Money-mongers supply when they will. And I

refer to Politicians to dispute among themselves, whether the dearth of all things, which most complain of, doth proceed from plenty of Gold and Silver since the late discoveries, or from Monopolies and combinations of Merchants and Craftsmen, or from transportation of Grain, or from pleasure of great Personages, which do most highly rate such things as they most like, or excess in private persons, or to all these conjoyntly.¹

APPAREL.

NO doubt but after the creation mankind went first naked, and in probability might so have continued. For that as nature had armed other creatures with hair, bristles, shels, and scales, so also man with skin sufficient against the injuries of the air. For in this cold Countrey in Severus' time, the most Northern Britains were all naked, and thereunto use had so hardened them: according to that which a half naked poor beggar answered in cold weather to one warmly clad with his furs, muffs, and fables about his neck, marvailing at his nakedness: I as much

¹ Had *The Times* existed in his day, I have no doubt that Master Camden, from his large acquaintance with things in general, could have produced a very able "money article" in that journal. But methinks that, could he have foreseen the existence of a *science* of which (as to England) the present chapter was in all probability the germ, he would have been highly gratified. I mean, of course, the science—for to that dignity it has arrived—of Numismatics.

marvail how you can abide your face bare, for all my body is made of the same metal that your face is.

But a bashful shamesfastness in-bred in man, and withal a natural desire of decency, and necessity of coverture in extreme weather, first gave occasion to invent apparel, and afterward pride, playing upon conceited opinions of decency, hath infinitely varied the same in matter, form, and fashion, and so now doth and will continually.

Lucretius, the ancient Poet, thought that garments of knit work, and after of woven, were first in use by this verse :

“Nexilis ante fuit vestis, quàm textile tegmen.”

As that iron was found out afterward, without which weaving could not be used. But others think that Beasts' skins after Adam's leaves was man's first coverture. Certainly at Cæsar's arrival, some years before Christ's Nativity, the Britains in the South parts of this our Isle, were attired with skins, and after as civility grew under the Romans, they assumed the Roman habit.

The English which at their first arrival here used long Jacquets, were shorn all the head, saving about the crown, and under that an iron ring. After they wore loose and large white garments, with broad guards of divers colours as the Lombards. Somewhat before the conquest they were all gallant with coats to the mid-knee, head shorn, beard shaved, arms laden with bracelets, and face painted.

Whosoever will enter into this argument since the conquest, his pen may have a spacious walk;¹ but I, purposing to be brief, will omit the royal habits of Kings at their Coronation, the mantle of

¹ Although costume has not yet been so scientifically studied as numismatics, yet this “spacious walk” has been well trodden.

Saint Edward, the Dalmatica with sleeves (a sacerdotal garment), their hose and sandals. As also the honourable habiliments, as robes of State, Parliament robes, Chaperons and Caps of Estate, houp-lands, which some think to be trains, the Surcoate, Mantle, Hood, and Coller of the order of the Garter, &c. the Ghimners, Rochets, Miters of Bishops, with the Archbishop's Pall bought so dearly at Rome, and yet but made of the wool of white lambs, fed by Saint Agnes' Nunnes, and led about Saint Peter's Altar, and laid upon his tomb. Neither will I speak of the Judges' red robes, and Coller of S S, which they used in memory of S. Simplicius, a sanctified Lawyer and Senatour of Rome.¹ I omit, I say, all these matters, whereof each one would require a whole treatise, and will briefly note what I have observed by the way in my little reading.

Robert, eldest son to the Conqueror, used short hose, and thereupon was by-named Court-hose, and shewed first the use of them to the English. But how slight they were then you may understand by King William Rufus's hose, of which I shall speak hereafter.

In wife
speeches.

King Henry the first reprehended much the immodesty of apparel in his days; the particulars are not specified, but the wearing of long hair, with locks and Perukes, he abolished.

Silk.

King Henry the second brought in the short Mantle, and thereof had the by-name of Court-mantle. And in this time the use of silk, I mean Bombycina, made by silk-worms, was brought out

¹ The collar of SS. and its origin have been largely discussed, particularly in the "Gentleman's Magazine" a few years since, and "Notes and Queries," vols. ii. to x. (First Series.) After all, it may reasonably be doubted whether this ornament has any specific meaning.

of Greece into Sicilie, and then into other parts of Christendome. For Sericum, which was a doune kemberd off from trees among the Seres in East-India, as Byffus was a plant or kind of silk grafs, as they now call it, were unknown.

There was also a costly stuff at those times here in England, called in Latine *Aurifrisum*; what it was named in English I know not, neither do imagine it *Auriphrygium*, and to signifie embroydery with gold, as *Opera Phrygia* were embroideries. Whatsoever it was, much desired it was by the Popes, and highly esteemed in Italy. But to the purpose.

What the habits, both civil and military, were in the time of King John, Henry the third, and succeeding ages, may better appear by their monuments, old glafs windows, and ancient Arras, than be found in writers of those times. As also the robes (which the Kings then allowed to each Knight when he was dubbed,) of Green or Burnet, viz. *Tunicam & pallium cum penulis byffis*, as they spake in that age, and appeareth upon record. Neither is it to be doubted but successive time and English mutability brought in continually new cuts, as in the time of King Edward the third, which may be understood by this rhyme then made:

“ Long beards, heartles,
Painted hoods, witles,
Gay coats, graceles,
Makes England thriftles.”

Many Statutes were also provided in that behalf, and the history called “Eulogium” proveth no less. “The Commons (saith he) were besotted in excess of apparel, in wide furcoats reaching to their loyns, some in a garment reaching to their heels, close before and strowting out on the sides, so that on the

Claus.
anno 2
Hen. IV.

Vide
Chron.
MS. in
Bibl.
Bodl. (in-
ter Co-
dices
Archiep.
Cant.)
K. 84.
f. 128, a,
& 134,
a, b.

back they make men seem women, and this they call by a ridiculous name, Gown. Their hoods are little, tied under the chin, and buttoned like the women's but set with gold, silver, and precious stones. Their lirrrippes reach to their heels all jagged. They have another weed of silk which they call a Paltock. Their hofe are of two colours, or pied with more, which with lachets, which they called Herlots, they tie to their Paltocks, without any breeches. Their girdles are of gold and silver, some worth 20 Marks: their shoes and pattens are snowted and piked more than a finger long crooking upwards, which they call Crackows,¹ resembling the Divil's claws, which were fastned to the knees with chains of gold and silver. And thus were they garmented which (as my Authour faith) were Lyons in the Hall and Hares in the Field." The Book of Worcester reporteth that in the year of our Lord 1369, they began to use caps of divers colours, especially red with costly lynings; and 1372 they first began to wanton it in a new round curtal weed which they called a Cloak, and in Latine *Armilausa*, as only covering the shoulders. Here you may see when Gowns, Cloaks, and Caps first came in use, though doubtless they had some such like attire in different names.

How strangely they were attired under King Richard the Second, the good person² in Chaucer shall tell you. "Alas, may not a man see, as in our day, the sinful costly array of cloathing, and, namely, in too much superfluity of clothing, such that maketh it so dear, to the harm of the people, not only

¹ So called, say the costumists, from the city of Cracow, in Poland, from whence the fashion came.

² See the "Persones Tale," edit. Wright, iii. 115, *et seq.*

the cost of embroidering, the disguised endenting, or barring, ounding, playting, winding, or bending, and semblable waste of cloth in vanity. But there is also the costly furring in their gowns, so much pounsing of chesell to make holes, so much dagging of sheres forche, with the superfluity in length of the foresaid gowns, trayling in the dung, and in the mire, on horse and also on foot, as well of man as of woman. That all that trailing is verily as in effect wasted, consumed, and thredbare, and rotten with dung, rather than it is given to the poor. Upon that other side, to speak of the horrible disordinate scantness of cloathing, as been these cutted slops, or hanselinefs, that through their shortness cover not the shameful members of man, to wicked intent. Alas, some of them shew the bos of their shape, and the horrible swoln members that seemeth like the malady of Hernia, in the wrapping of their hosen, and also the buttocks of him fare, as it were the hinder parts of a she ape in the full of the Moon. And moreover the wretched swoln members that they shew through disguising, in departing of their hosen in white and red, seemeth that half their privy members were slain. And if so be that they depart their hosen in other colours, as is white and blew, or white and black, or black and red, and so forsooth, then seemeth, as by variance of colour, that the half part of their privy members been corrupt by the fire of S. Anthony or by canker or by other such mischance. Of the hinder part of the buttocks it is full horrible for to see, for certes in that part of their body there, as they purge their stinking ordure, that foul part shew they to the people, proudly in despite of honesty, which honesty Jesu Christ and his friends observed to shew in their life. Now as to the outrageous array of women, God wot, that although the

visages of some of them seem full chaste and debonaire, yet notifie in her array and attire licoroufness and pride. I say not that honesty in cloathing of man or woman is uncovenable, but certes the superfluity of disordinate quantity of cloathing is reproveable."

They had also about this time a kind of Gown called a Git, a jacket without sleeves called a Hake-ton, a loose jacket like an Herald's Coat of Armes called a Tabard, a short gabbardin called a Court-pie, a gorget called a Chevesail, for as yet they used no bands about their neck; a pouch called a Gisper. And Queen Anne, wife to King Richard the second, who first taught English women to ride on side-saddles, when as heretofore they rid astride, brought in high head attire piked with horns, and long trained gowns for women.

But farther, of the extravagancies in Apparel, let us hearken to what Thomas Occlive, who lived in King Henry the fourth's time, in a Poem* of his expreffeth:—

* MS. in
Bibl.
Bodl. (in-
ter Cod.
Cantuar.
Archiep.)
K. 78, p.
67, b.

*Of Pride, and of wast clothing of Lordis mene,
which is azens her astate.*



Ndir an old pore abyte regneth ofte
Great vertew, though it mostre poorly:
And wher as grete aray is up on loft,
Vice is but seldom hit, that wele wot I:
But not report I pray the inwardly
That fresh aray y general deprave
Thes worthi men mow full weel it have.

But this me thynketh an abusion
To sene one walke in a Robe of scarlet,
Twelve yerdys wide with pendaunt slevis doune
On the ground, and the furrur therein set
Amounting unto xx. l. or bett;
And zef he for it payd hath he no good
Lesse him wherwith to by himself an Hood.

For thogh he gete forth among the prees
 And overlooke evere poor wight
 His cofre and eke his purs I trow be peneles,
 He hath no more than he goth yn upright :
 For Lond, Rent or Cattell he may go lyght,
 The weight of hem shall not so mych peyse
 As doth his Gown ; Is such aray to preyse ?

Nay sothly sone it is all mys me thynkith
 So poor a wight his Lord to contrefett
 In his aray, yn my conceyt it stynkith ;
 Certes to blame bene the Lordis grete,
 Zef that I durst sey they her men lete
 Vsurp such Lordly apparayle
 It is not worthy, my Child, without fayle.

Some a farre men myght Lords know
 By her aray from other folk or now,
 A man shall stodye or musyn now a long throw
 Which is which ; O Lords it sittes to zow
 Amend this, for it is for your prow
 Zef bytween zow and zour men no difference
 Be yn aray lesse is your reverence.

Also there is another new jett
 A fowl wast of cloth and excessyf
 Ther goth no lasse in a mannes typett
 Than of brode cloth a zerde be my lyf,
 Me thinkith this a very indultyf
 Vnto the stelth were hem of hempen lane
 For stelth is medid with a chekew bane.

Let everie Lord his awn men defende
 Such gret aray, and than on my peryll
 This land within a while soon shall amend
 Now in Godd's name put it in exile
 Hit is synne outrageous and vyle
 Lordis of ze zour aftate and honour
 Loven, flemyth this vicious errour.

What is a Lord without his mene
 I put case that his foes him assayle
 Sodenly in the strete, what help shall he
 Who's slevs encombrous so syde, trayle,
 Do to hys Lorde he may hym not avayle
 In such a case he nys but a woman
 He may not stand hym in stede of a man.

Hys Armes two have right y now to done
 And sumwhat more his sleeves up to hold
 The Tayllours y trowe moto her after sone
 Shape in the feld, thei shall not shape and folde
 On her boord, thogh the never so fayn wolde
 The cloth that shall be in a gown wroght
 Take an hole cloth is best, for lasse is noght.

The Skynner unto the felde mote also,
 His House in London is so streyt and scurs
 To don his crafte, sumtime it was not so,
 O Lords, zeve ze unto your men her pars
 That so don, and queynt hem bett with Mars
 God of Batell, he loveth none aray
 That hurtith manhood at presse or assay.

Who now most may bere on his bak at ons
 Of cloth and furroure hath a fresh renoun
 He is a lusty man clepyd for the nones
 But Drapers, and eke Skynners in the town ;
 For such folk han a speciall Orison
 That florished is with curses here and there,
 And ny shall till they be payd of her gere.

In days old whan small apparayll
 Suffised unto hy aftate or mene
 Was grete howsholde stuffid with vitalle
 But now houholds be fed scars and lene
 For al the good that men may repe and glene
 Waysted is in outrageous aray
 So that houholdis man ne hold may.

Pride hath wele levere bere an hungry maw
 To bed, than lak of aray outrage
 He no price settith by mesures law
 Ne takyth of hym cloth, mete, ne wage,
 Mesure is owt of lande on Pilgremage,
 But I suppose she shall restore as blyve
 For verry nede wol us therto dryve.

There may no Lord take up no new gyse
 But that a knafe shall the same up take
 Than zef Lordes wolden in this wisse
 For to do such gowns for hem make
 As men in old time undertake
 The same get wold up, be take, and usyd
 And all the costlew owtragre refusid.

Of Lancaſtre Duke John, whoſe ſaule in Heven
 I fully deme, and truſt ſittith full hy,
 A noble Prince I may allegge, and nevene
 Other may no man of hym teſtifye
 I never ſaw a Lord that coud hym gye
 Bett like hys aſtate, for knyghtly prowefſe
 Was to hym girt, O God his ſaule bleſſe !

Hys gey Garments were not full wide
 And zet thei hym becam wonder wele
 Now wold God the waſt of cloth and pryde
 Were now I put in exile perpetuell
 For the good and proffet univerſell
 And Lordis myght helpp al this if they wold
 The old get, take, and it forth uſe and hold.

Than myght ſylver walke more thyke
 Among the peple than yt doth now ;
 There wold y fayn that ſet were the pryk
 Bott for my ſelf y ſhall do wele y now
 But ſone for that ſuch men as thow
 That with the world wreſten myght have plente
 Of coyne that they now have of grett ſcarſete.

Now have thes Lordis butt litill nede of Brōes
 To ſwepe away the fyth owt of the ſtrete
 Sithyn ſide ſlevys of penyles Gromes
 Will it up lyk, be yt dry or wete.
 O England, ſtond right up on thi fete
 So fowle a waſt in ſo ſymple degre
 Banyſhe ſone, or ſore it ſhall repent thee.

If a wight vertuous but narow clothed
 To Lordis Courtes now a dayes goo,
 His cumpeny is to myck folk lothed
 Men paſſyn by hym both to and froo
 And ſcorn hym, for he ys arayed ſoo
 To her conceyte there ys no wight vertuous
 But he whos aray is outrageous.

But he that flatre can, or ben a Bawde,
 And by the tweyn freſh aray him gete
 Holdyn it is to hym honour and lawde,
 Trough and clenneſs muſt en men forzete
 In Lordis Courts for thei hertes frete
 They hyndren folke, fy upon tonges witrew
 They diſpleſaunce in Lordis courtes brew.

Lo sone myn this Tale is at an end
 Now, good son, have of me no disdeyn
 Thogh I be old and my aray unhende
 For many a zong man wote I weel certen
 Off corage is so prowde and so hawteyn
 That to the poor and old man's Doctrine,
 Full seld hym deymeth or encline.

And not many years after foolish pride so descended to the foot, that it was proclaimed that no man should have his shoes broader at the toes than six inches : and women bummed themselves with foxes' tails under their garments, as they now do with French farthingalles, and men with absurd short garments, infomuch as it was enacted, in 22 E. 4, chap. 1, that no manner of person under the estate of a Lord, shall wear from that time any gown or mantle, unless it be of such length that he being upright, it shall cover his privy members and buttocks, upon pain to forfeit to our Sovereign Lord the King at every default 20 shillings.

Neither was the Clergy clear, then, from this pride, as you may perceive by Perce Plowman. Albeit Polydor Virgil and the late Archbishop of Canterbury (most reverend D. Parker) noteth that the Clergy of England never wore silk or velvet until the time of the pompous Cardinal Wolsey, who opened that door to pride among them, which hitherto cannot be shut. The civil wars could not purge this general vain humour, neither the laws still enacted in this behalf ; neither if a contempt of gold, silver, and silk, could be brought into men's minds, which is an impossibility, but supposed by some to be the only means to restrain the vain expences herein : neither do I think that the shameful exceptions, which Zaleucus the Locrian provided in his laws, could stay our vanity ; who ordained that

no woman should be attended by more than one maid in the street, but when she was drunk ; that she should not go out of the city in the night, but when she went to commit Adultery ; that she should not wear gold or embroidered apparel, but when she purposed to be a common strumpet. As for men, that they should not wear rings or tiffues, but when they went a whooring. Yet for a close I will tell you here how Sir Philip Calthrop purged John Drakes, the shoemaker, of Norwich, in the time of King Henry the eighth, of the proud humour which our people have to be of the Gentlemen's cut. This Knight bought on a time as much fine French tawney Cloth as should make him a gown, and sent it to the Taylours to be made ; John Drakes, a shoemaker of that town, coming to the said Taylours, and seeing the Knight's gown-cloath lying there, liking it well, caused the Taylour to buy him as much of the same cloth and price to the same intent, and further bad him to make it of the same fashion that the Knight would have his made of. Not long after, the Knight coming to the Taylours to take measure of his Gown, perceiveth the like Gown-cloth lying there, asked of the Taylour whose it was. Quoth the Taylour, It is John Drake's, who will have it made of the self-same fashion that yours is made of. Well, said the Knight, in good time be it. I will (said he) have mine made as full of cuts as thy sheers can make it. It shall be done, said the Taylour : whereupon, because the time drew near, he made haste of both their Garments. John Drakes, when he had no time to go to the Taylours till Christmas day, for serving of customers, when he had hoped to have worn his Gown, perceiving the same to be full of cuts, began to swear with the Taylour for the making of his

Gown after that fort. I have done nothing (quoth the Taylour) but that you bad me, for as Sir Philip Calthrop's is, even so have I made yours. By my latchet, quoth John Drakes, I will never wear Gentleman's fashion again.

How we have offended lately herein, I refer to every particular man's own knowledge. I fear it will be verified, which an old Gentleman said, when our posterity shall see our pictures, they shall think we were foolishly proud in apparel, as when they shall see our contracts, purchases, deeds, covenants and conveyances, they will think we have been exceeding crafty, as we judge the contrary by the pictures and deeds of our Ancestours whom we commend for plainness both in meaning and attire, though in some Ages they offended in the latter as well as we.

To what cause our mutability (whereas our Cofins the Germans have been immutable herein) may be referred, I know not, unless that we, as all Islanders, are Lunaries, or the Moon's men, who, as it is in the old Epigram, could be fitted with no apparel, as her mother answered her, when she intreated nothing more.

They which mislike most our present vanity herein, let them remember that of Tacitus: All things run round, and as the seasons of the year, so men's manners have their revolutions. But nothing maketh more to this purpose than that of Seneca: Our Age is not only faulty, our Ancestours have complained, we complain, and our Posterity will complain, that manners are corrupted, that naughtiness reigneth, and all things wax worse and worse. But those things do stay and shall stay, only tossed a little to and fro, even as the billows of the Sea. In one Age there will be more adulterers; in another

time there will be excessive riot in banquetting ; another while strange garmenting of the body not without deformity of the mind. At another time, malapert boldness will square it out ; In another Age, cruelty, and fury of civil war will flash out ; and sometimes carousing and drunkenness will be counted a bravery. So vices do ruffle among themselves, and usurp one upon another. As for us, we may say always of our selves : We are evil, there have been evil, and evil there will be. There will be always Tyrants, Murderers, Theeves, Adulterers, Extortioners, Church-robbers, Traytours, and other of the same rabblement.

ARTILLERY.

IF ever the wit of man went beyond itself, it was in the invention of Artillery or Engines of War, albeit the first inventors are thought by some to have been either timorous and traitorous, or spiteful and dangerous. Wonderful it was of what force the Aries or Ram was in battery, the Muscles, walking Towers, Helepolis or Win-City, wherewith Demetrius got the surname Poliorcetes or Town-taker ; the Balista, in violent shooting great stones and quarrels ; as also the Catapultes, the Malleoli in firing buildings, which could be extinguished with nothing but dust ; and that so famous of Archimedes' invention at the siege of Syracuse, for shot of great stones with a marvelous crack. But that we may come home, our Nation had the practice of most of these, and moreover of Mangonels, Trahucches, and Bricolles, wherewith they used to cast mil-stones, and the French men vessels of venomous infection, which they prepared against Calice, Anno 1410, but were

fired with the whole town of Saint Omars, by an English Youth. With these Engines the Turks shot putrified carcases of horses into Negroponte, when they besieged it, and it is reported by William Brito, that the Arcubalista or Arbalist was first shewed to the French by our King Richard the First,¹ who was shortly after slain by a quarrel thereof. Whereupon the French Poet, William Briton, made these Verses, in the person of Atropos the fatal Sister :

“Hâc volo, non aliâ Richardum morte perire,
Ut qui Francigenis balistæ primitus usum
Tradidit, ipse sui rem primitus experiatur :
Quâunque alios docuit in se vim sentiat artis.”

Matt.
West.

Some kind of Bricol, it seemed, which the English and Scots called an Espringold, the shot whereof King Edward the First escaped fair at the siege of Strivelin, where he, with another Engine, named the Warwolf, pierced with one stone, and cut as even as a thread two vauntmures, as he did before at the siege of Brehin ; where Thomas Maile, the Scots man, scoffed at the English Artillery with wiping the wall with his handkerchief, until both he and the wall were wiped away with a shot. And as the ancient Romans had their Crates, Vineæ, Plutei, and such like to make their approaches ; so had the English in this Age their Cat-house and Sow for the same purpose. This Cat-house, answerable to the Cattus mentioned by Vegetius, was used in the siege of Bedford Castle, in the time of King Henry the Third. The Sow is yet usual in Ireland, and was, in the time of King Edward the Third, used at the siege of Dun-

¹ This statement may well be questioned. I believe that it could be shown from contemporary evidence that the *balistæ* used at Hastings, in 1066, were mere crossbows.

bar, which when the Countess, who defended the Castle, saw, she said merrily, That unless the English men kept their Sow the better, she would make her to cast her Pigs.

When a Catapult was first seen at Lacedæmon, Archidamus exclaimed: "O Hercules! now manhood is come to an end." But what would he have said, had he seen the Canon or great Ordinance of our Age; which made all ancient Engines to cease, as surpassing them all, in force, violence, impetuosity, suddainness, and swiftness? according to that of Saxo Pamphilus:

"Vis, sonitus, rabies, motus, furor, impetus, ardor,
Sunt mecum, Mars hæc ferreus arma timet."

So violent it is in breaking, tearing, bruising, renting, razing, and ruining Walls, Towers, Castles, Rampiers, and all that it encountereth, that it might seem to have been invented by practice of the Devil to the destruction of mankind, as the only enemy of true valour and manful couragiousness by murdering afar off.

Notwithstanding some there are, which think that hereby hath been the saving of many lives, for that sieges, before the common use of them, continued longer, to the greater loss of people; and more fields were fought, with slaughter of greater multitudes. At the siege of Jerusalem there were slain and died ten hundred thousand. At the Surprises of Maldon in Essex, then called Camalodunum, and Verulam, near St. Albans, were slain by Brundwica, Princess of Norfolk and Suffolk, in the time of Nero, 80,000. At the siege of Alexia by Cæsar 39 thousand, who also in his French and British wars, vaunted that there were slain eleven hundred ninety two thousand men. But to omit ancient wars, at the battel of

Hastings, where England was conquered, were slain at the least 47,944 English. At Cressi 30,000 French. In that of Palm Sunday 360,700. Whenas since the common use of guns, at Flodden field were slain but 8,000; at Musleborough 4000; at the great battel of Dreux seven or eight thousand; and fewer in the latter battels. Unless you will, with King Lewis the Eleventh of France, suppose the number to be corrupted in the ancient Histories, who could not be induced to believe, that there were so great Armies levied, or so many slain as are specified in them.

Sir John
Haring-
ton.

Some have sayled a long course as far as China, the farthest part of the World to fetch the invention of Guns from thence, but we know the Spanish proverb, "Long wayes, long lies." One writeth, I know not upon whose credit, that Roger Bacon, commonly called Fryer Bacon, knew to make an Engine, which with Saltpeter and Brimstone, should prove notable for battery, but he tendring the safety of mankind would not discover it.

The best approved Authours agree that they were invented in Germany, by Berthold Swarte a Monk, skilful in Geber's Cookery or Alchymy, who tempering Brimstone and Saltpeter in a mortar, perceived the force by casting up the stone which covered it when a spark fell into it. But one saith he consulted with the devil for an offensive weapon, who gave him answer in this obscure Oracle,

"Vulcanus gignat, pariat Natura, Minerva

Edoceat, nutrix ars erit atque dies.

Vis mea de nihilo, tria dent mihi corpora pastum:

Sunt soboles strages, vis, furor, atque fragor."

By this instruction he made a trunk of iron with learned advice, crammed it with sulphure bullet, and putting thereto fire, found the effects to be destrucion, violence, fury and roaring crack. This being

begun by him, by skill and time is now come to that perfection, not only in great iron and brasse pieces, but also in small, that all admire it ; having name given them, some from Serpents or ravenous Birds, as Culverines, or Colubrines, Serpentine, Basilisques, Faulcons, Sacres ; others in other respects, as Canons, Demicanons, Chambers, Slings, Arquebuzes, Caliver, Handgun, Muskets, Petronils, Pistoll, Dagge, &c. and Petarras of the same brood lately invented.

The very time of their first invention is uncertain, but certain it is that King Edward the Third used them at the siege of Calice, 1347, for Gunnarii had their pay there, as appeareth by Record. About 33 years before they were seen in Italy, and about that they began, as it seemeth, to be used in Spain, but named by Writers, *Dolia ignivoma*, as fire-flashing vessels.

Yet the French, as Polydore Virgil noteth, scant knew the use of them until the year 1425, when the English by great Ordinance had made a breach in the wall of Mans, under the conduct of Thomas Montacute, last Earl of Salisbury of that Surname, who was after slain at Orleans with a great shot, and is noted to be the first English Gentleman slain thereby ; albeit now he is thought the most unfortunate, and cursed in his mother's womb, who dyeth by great shot.

But amongst all the English Artillery, Archery challengeth the prehemineny, as peculiar to our Nation, as the Sarissa was to the Macedonians, the Gesa to the old Gauls, the Framea to the Germans, the Machæra to the Greeks, first shewed to the English by the Danes, brought in by the Normans, continued by their Successours, to the great glory of England in atchieving honourable victories, but now

P. Nan-
nius.

disposseſſed by gunnery, how juſtly let others judge. Much may be ſaid for either. Sir John Smith and Sir Roger Williams have encountred with their pens in this quarrel. I will ſay no more, but as one ſaith, “When Engliſh men uſed Hercules’ weapons, the bow and the black bill, they fought victoriously with Hercules’ ſucceſs,” ſo I hope they ſhall carry away no victory more happily now, when they adjoyn to thoſe weapons of Hercules, Jove’s thunderbolt ; for ſo ſome now call our great ſhot. Some there are notwithstanding which compare the ancient ſlings with our ſmall ſhot in force ; for Authours teſtifie, that the bullet of a ſling in the courſe hath continued a fiery heat in the aire, yea ſometime melted ; that it killeth at one blow ; that it pierceth helmet and ſhield ; that it reacheth farther, that it randoneth leſs, as in the holy Scripture they of Gabaa could hit a hair with their ſling, but theſe ſlingers do not now appear. To ſpeak of leſſer weapons, both deſenſive and offenſive, of our Nation, as their Pauad, Baſe-lard, Launcegay, &c. would be endleſs and needleſs, when we can do nothing but name them.

ARMORIES.

WHEREAS ſomewhat hath been ſaid of Aluſions and Anagrams which reſult out of Names, I think it ſhall not be impertinent to add alſo ſomewhat of Armories or Arms, which as ſilent Names do diſtinguiſh Families ; but with this Preface, *Salvo ſemper meliori judicio*, and that I will but touch it lightly and ſlightly without offence to ſuch as have, or preju-

dice to them that will undertake this matter more seriously.

Arms, as Ensigns of Honour among Military men, in the general signification, have been as anciently used in this Realm as in any other ; for as necessity bred the use of them in managing of Military affairs, for order and distinction both of whole companies and particular persons amongst other Nations, that their valour might thereby be more conspicuous to others ; so likewise no doubt among the Inhabitants of this Island, who always have been as martial as any other people whatsoever ; in so much as, unless we would conceive hardly of our own Progenitours, we cannot think but that in martial services they had their conceits in their Ensigns, both for distinction, direction and decency.

He that would shew variety of reading in this argument might note, out of the sacred Scripture, that every Tribe of Israel pitched under their own Standard ; out of prophane Authours, that the Carrians, who were the first mercenary souldiers, first also bare marks in their shields : that the Lacedemonians bare the Greek letter Λ , the Messonians M, &c.

But to come home, some give the first honour of the invention of the Armories in this part of the World to the ancient Picts and Britains, who going naked to the wars, adorned their bodies with figures and blazons of divers colours, which they conjecture to have been several for particular Families, as they fought divided by kindreds.

When this Isle was under the command of the Romans, their troops and bands had their several signs. As the Britannici in their shield a Carbuncle, Britannici a Plat party per Saltier, Stablesiani a Plate within an annulet, Secundani an annulet

Notitia
Provin-
ciarum.

upon a crofs. For particular perfons among the Grecians Ulyffes bare in his fhield a Dolphin ; among the Romans Julius Cæfar, the head of Venus ; Crixus the French Captain, a man weighing gold ; A Saguntine Spaniard an hundred Snakes, fo I only read among the Britains that the victorious Arthur bare our Lady in his fhield, which I do the rather remember for that Nernius, who lived not long after, recordeth the fame.

In the Saxon Heptarchy I find little noted of Arms, albeit the Germans, of whom they defcended, ufed fhields, as Tacitus faith, "*colore fucata*," which I know not whether I may call Arms or no, neither know I whether I may refer hither out of Beda, how Edwin, King of Northumberland, had alwayes one Ensign carried before him called in Englifh a Tuffe, which Vegetius reckoneth among Military Ensigns, or how King Oswald had a Bannerol of Gold and Purple, interwoven palie or bendie, fet over his Tomb at Bardney Abbey, in Lincolnfhire ; or how Cuthred, King of Weftfex, bare in his Banner a golden Dragon at the battel of Bureford, as Hovedon noteth, and the Danes in their Standard a Raven, as Afferius reporteth.

Hitherto of Arms in the general fignification, now fomewhat of them in the reſtrict fignification, as we define, or rather describe them, viz. That Arms are Ensigns of Honour born in Banners, Shields, Coats, for notice and diſtinction of Families one from the other, and defcendable, as hereditary, to Poſterity.

Here might divers enquiries be made when they began to be hereditary, which was very anciently, if we relie upon the Poets credit. For to overpaſs others, Virgil faith, that Aventinus, Hercules' fon, bare an hundred fnakes, his father's Arms.

"Clypeoque infine paternum,
Centum angues ; cinctamque gerit serpentibus hydram."

Also whether some have aptly applied this Verse of Lucretius to Arms of this kind : Ph.
Moreau.

"Arma antiqua manus, ungues dentefque fuerunt."

And whether these places of Suetonius may be referred to arms of this sort, where he saith that Caligula the Emperour, In Caligula,
cap. 35.

"Familiaria insignia nobilissimo cuique ademit Torquato torquem, Cincinnato, crinem." And that the house of Flavia was obscure, "Sine ullis armorum imaginibus." In Vespasiano.

Whatsoever some discourse out of the Kings Seals of hereditary Arms in England, certain it is, that the Lions were the Arms of our Kings in the time of Henry the First. For John of Marmonstier, in Touraine who then lived, recordeth that when the said King chose Geffray son of Foulk, Earl of Anjou, Tourain, and Maine, to be his son in law, by marrying to him his only Daughter and Heir, Mawde, and made him Knight, after the bathing and other solemn Rites, boots embroydered with golden Lions were drawn on his legs, and a shield with golden Lions therein hung about his neck.

That King Richard the First, his Grandchild, bare Lyons, appeareth by his Seal, as also by these Verses in Philippeidos uttered in the person of Monsieur William de Barr, ready to encounter Richard, when as yet he was but Earl of Poictou, Gil.
Brit.
l. 3.

"Ecce comes Pictavus agro nos provocat, ecce
Nos ad bella vocat ; rictus agnosco Leonum
Illius in clypeo, stat ibi quasi ferrea turris,
Francorum nomen blasphemans ore protervo."

It is clear also by that Authour, that Arundel bare

then Swallows in his shield, as his Posterity in Cornwall do at this day. For of him he writeth, when he was upon the shock with the said William de Barr,

“Vidit hirundela velocior alite quæ dat
Hoc agnomen ei, fert cujus in agide signum,
Se rapit agminibus mediis clypeoque nitenti,
Quem sibi Guillelmus læva prætenderat ulna,
Immergit validam præacutæ cuspidis hastam.”

About this time the estimation of Arms began in the expeditions to the Holy Land, and afterward by little and little became hereditary, when it was accounted most honourable to carry those Arms which had been displayed in the Holy Land in that holy service against the professed enemies of Christianity. To this time doth Petre Pithæu and other learned French men refer the original of hereditary Arms in France; and in my opinion without prejudice to others, about that time we received the hereditary use of them, which was not fully established, until the time of King Henry the Third. For the last Earls of Chester, the two Quincys Earls of Winchester, the two Lacyes Earls of Lincoln, varied still the Father from the son, as might be particularly proved.

In these Holy Wars many Arms were altered, and new assumed upon divers occasions, as the Veres, Earls of Oxford, who bare before quarterly Gules and Or, inserted a Mollet in the first quarter, for that a shooting star fell thereon, when one of them served in the Holy Land. The Lord Barkleys, who bare first Gules a Cheveron Argent, after one of them had taken upon him the Cross (for that was then the phrase) to serve in those wars, inserted ten Crosses *patte* in his shield. So Geffray of Boullion, the glorious General in those wars, at one draught of his

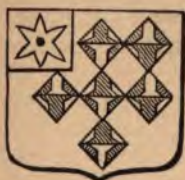
bow, shooting against David's Tower in Hierusalem, broched three feeble Birds called Allerions upon his arrow, and thereupon assumed in a shield Or, three Allerions Argent on a Bend Gueles, which the house of Loraine, descending from his race, continueth to this day. So Leopold the Fifth, Marquess of Austria, who bare formerly six Larks Or in Azure, when his Coat-Armour at the siege of Acres in the Holy Land was all dyed in blood, save his Belt, he took for his Arms, Gueles, a white Belt, or a Fesse Argent (which is the same), in memory thereof.¹

About this time did many Gentlemen begin to bear Arms by borrowing from their Lords Arms of whom they held in Fee, or to whom they were most devoted. So whereas the Earl of Chester bare Garbes, or wheat sheafs, many Gentlemen of that Country took wheat sheafs. Whereas the old Earls of Warwick bare Chequy Or, and Azure a Cheveron Ermin, many thereabout took Ermin and Chequie. In Leicestershire and the Countrey confining, divers bare Cinquefoyles, for that the ancient Earls of Leicester bare Gueles a Cinquefoile Ermyn. In Cumberland and thereabouts, where the old Baron of Kendall bare Argent two bars Gueles and a Lion passant Or in a Canton of the second; many Gentlemen thereabout took the same in different colours and charges in the Canton.

¹ Camden is the earliest English writer on heraldry who discards the absurd notion, previously entertained, that this science ascends to the classical ages and even to patriarchal times. It is now a pretty generally accepted truth that the early Crusades gave rise to heraldry properly so called. See this subject discussed in "Curios. of Heraldry," and in "Retrospect. Review," N. S. vol. i. p. 120. For some arguments on the other side, see, however, Mr. Ellis's "Antiquities of Heraldry," Lond. 1869.



Hugbert de Burgo, Earl of Kent, who bare for his Arms in a Shield, Gules seven Lozenges vair, 3, 3, 1. granted Lands to Anselme de Guife in the Counties of Buckingham and Gloucester,



Whereupon the said Anselmus de Guife bare the same Coat with a Canton Or, charged with a Mullet of six points pierced Sable.



The ancient Family of Hardres in Kent, bears Gules, a Lion rampant, Ermin debruised, with a Cheveron Or, denoting that they held their said Mannor of Hardres by Knights service of the Castle of Tunbridge in Kent, which was the ancient Seigniory



of the Clares, Earls of Gloucester, who did bear for their Arms in a Field Or, three Cheverons Gules: and the Lord Strafford, that was after Lord of the same place, bore Or, a Cheveron Gules.

This Great Family of the Clares being resident for the most part at their Castle of Tunbridge in Kent, to which they had a Liberty called the Loway, containing three miles every way from the Centre, answerable to that which belonged to their Seigniorie of Bryony in Normandy, which they exchanged for this here (as writeth Gemeticensis), gave occasion to many of the antientest Families in Kent to take up Coats, alluding to these Lords of Tunbridge.



Simon de Abrincis, Albranc, or Averinges (for by all these names he is written in Record), Lord of Folkstone, and one of those eight Barons, to each of whom many Knights Fees were assigned in defence of Dover Castle, and each of them to maintain a Tower there, gave Or, five Cheverons Gules,



And was imitated by Evering of Evering, that held a Knights Fee of him, by changing the Cheverons into Azure,

And Robert de Hougham, who was his next Neighbour, bare in allusion to him the same charge, but differing in colours, *viz.* in a Field Argent five Cheverons Sable.





Ralph de Curva Spina, or Creythorne, descended from an Ancestour well landed in Kent, in the 20. of William the Conquerour, bare in imitation of the former charge Azure five Cheverons Or, a Label of five points Gules.



Then Cryoll or Keryell, the great landed man of Kent, he bare Or, 2. Cheverons, and a Canton Gules. And in imitation of him,

Sir Robert of Rumney.

Sir Robert Orlanston of Orlanston.

Howdlow of Bellerikey.



The said Bertram de Cryoll was Lord of Ostenhanger, and those that know that Countrey know that all these before-mentioned inhabited in the same Lath of Shepwey.

At the other side of Kent the Lord Leybourne, of Leybourne Castle, was the great man. Sir Roger Leybourne was a great agent in the Barons wars, and William was a Parliamentary Baron in the time of King Edward the first.



Sir Robert de Sherland, of Sherland in Shepey, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, the female heir of which family being married to Cheyney, which is the Coat of Sherland, they many ages bore this Coat in the first place.



Sir Richard Rockisley, of Rockisley in Kent, from whose heir general the Lord Marquefs of Winchester is descended, bare the Lord Leybournes Coat, with a Fesse Gules.



William Kirkby, of Horton Kirkby in Kent, not many miles from Leybourn Castle, bare the same Coat with a Canton and Mullet, and is quartered by the Stonards of Stonard in Oxfordshire, who married the heir general of Kirkby.





The Family of the Culpeppers, of Kent, as it is one of the most numerous families (for I have noted at one time there were twelve Knights and Baronets alive of this house together), so certainly it is reckoned of as much antiquity and good allyance as any Family in that tract. They bare for their arms Argent, a Bend ingreyled, Gules.



Halden, of Halden, in the Parish of Rolvinden in Kent, whose heir general was marryed into the Guildfares Family, bare the same Coat with a Chief Sables,



And one of the name of Malmanis in Kent bare Argent, a Bend ingreyled, purple.



The Lord Sey was a Baron of ample possessions at Birlinge in Kent, and very many other places from thence to Deptford, where Seys Court, that came from the Lord Magminot by his heir general, gave quarterly Or and Gules.

Peckham, of Peckham and Yaldham, bare it thus in chief.



Parrock, of Parrock near Gravesend, bare it as in the margin.



And Saint Nicholas, of Saint Nicholas in Thanet, came as near as could be to that of Peckham, so that we conceive they were at first all one family, else some question would in so many ages have been raised for bearing the same blazon, as in divers other Families upon the like ground hath been observed.



Touching the granting of Arms from some great Earls, and passing of Coats from one private person to another, some presidents, not impertinent to this subject, are here inserted, which were all before the reduction of the Heralds under one regulation:—

“Humfrey, Count de Staff. & de Perche seigneur de Tunbrigg & de Caux, a tous ceux qui cestes presentes lettres verront ou orront salutes; Saches que nous considerans lez merites que deivent estre attribues a toutes per-



Arms granted to Robert Whitgrave by Humphrey Earl of Stafford.

sonnes issues de bone lieu & excersantez bones meures & vertues eux conduisantes termis d'honneur & gentilese ycelle, a consideration a nous amove d'augmenter en honneur & noblesse noble home Robert Whitgreve, luy avoir donne & donons per icestes presentes, pour memory d'honneur perpetuell, au portre set armes ensigne de Noblesse un Escue, de azure, a quatre points d'or, quatre Cheverons de Gules ; & luy de partire as autres persones nobles de son linage en descent avecques les differences de Descent au dit blazon, & pour de tout armoyor & revestire son dit blazon & en honneur le reparer a vous avecque celuy ordeine & attribue Helme & Timbre, cest assavoyr le Helme ove mantle de bloy, furre d'Ermines, au une Coronne un demy Antelope d'or : Et pour ceste nostre lettre patente de dit donne verifier, en tesmoigne la nous fait seeler du seele de nos properes Armes, le xiii. jour d'August l'an du reigne le Roy Henry le sisme puis le conquest vintisme."

Arms
granted
to Wil-
liam
Morgne
by Tho-
mas
Grendall.



" A touz ceux que ceste presente lettre verront ou orront, Thomas Grendale de Fenton, cofyn & heir a Johan Beaumeys jadys de Sautre saluz in Dieu. Come les Armes d'ancestrye du dit Johan, apres le jourde son moriant, soient par loy & droit d'eritage a moy eschaietz, com a son profchein heir du son linage : Sachetz moy l'avantdit Thomas, avoir donnee & grantee per ycestes, les entiers avantdites Armes, ove leur appartenantz a William Moigne Chivaller, quelles Armes cestafcavoir font d'argent ove une Crois d'Asure ove cinq, Garbes d'or, en le Crois ; A avoir & tenir touz lez avantdites Armesoveleurappurtenantz au dit Monfieur William a ces heires & assignes a tous jours.

En tesmoignance de quelle chose a cestez presentes lettres j'ay mis mon faelx. Donne a Sautre le vint seconde jour de Novembre, l'an du regne le Roy Richard seconde, quinzisme."

"A touz ceux que ceste lettres verront ou orront, Roberte de Morle, Mariscall D'Irlande, salut en dieu. Saches moi avoir donne & grante a mon bon amee Robert de Corby, & a ces heires, les Armes que me sont descenduz per voie de Heritage apres le



Arms granted by Rob. de Morle, Marhal of Ireland to Sir Baldw. de Manoures.

deces Monsieur Baldwine de Manoures, cestascavoir d' Argent, ove une Saltier engraile de Sable : avoir & porter entirement les Armes jusdits au dit Robert de Corby, & ses heires a tous jours, sans impechement ou challenge du moy ou de mes heires apres ses heures. Et moy avant-dit Robert de Morley & mes heires, au dit Robert de Corby & a ces heires, les Armes avant-dites, en quanq en nous est, envers toutz homes a toutz joures garranterons. On tesmoignance de quel chose a cestes mes lettres overtees iamais mon seale. Donne au Chasteau de Rinsing, le jour de la Tiffanie, le sisme jour de Januare l'an du regne Edward tiers puis le Conq. d'Engleterre 22. & de France, neofisme."

"Noverint universi per presentes, me Joannam nuper uxorem Willielmi Lee de Knightley, dominam & rectam hæredem de Knightley, dedisse, concessisse & hac præfenti carta mea confirmasse Ricardo Peshale filio Humfridi Peshale scutum Armorum meorum ; Habend. & tenend. ac portand. & utend. ubicunque voluerit sibi & hæred. suis imperpetuum : Ita quod nec ego, nec aliquis alius nomine meo, aliquod jus vel clamium seu calumpniam in prædicto scuto habere potuerimus, sed per præfentes

Arms assigned by this instrument from Joane Lee to Richard Pishalla.

fumus exclusi imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium Sigillum meum apposui. Dat. apud Knightley die Mercurii, prox. post festum Paschæ, Anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum quarto decimo."

A WRIT OUT OF THE COURT OF CHIVALRY.

"Jehan, filz, frere, & uncle au Roys, Duc de Bedford, Conte de Richmond & de Kendall, & Conestable d'Angleterre, a nostre trescher cousin Jehan, Duc de Northfolk, Marechal d' Angleterre, saluz. Nous vous mandons & chargeons que vous facez arrestre & venir devant nous ou nostre Lieutenant a Westminster, a la quinsieme du saint Hilari, prochain venant, William Clopton, du Counte de Suff. Esquier, pour adonques respondre devant nous ou nostre Lieutenant en la Courte de Chivalree, a Robert Dland, Esquier, du Counte de Nicholl, de ce que le dit Robert adonques luy surmettra par voie darmes, touchant ce, q'uil fauxment & encontre honeste & gentilese d'armes, as mis & appose le seel de ses armes a un faux & forgé fait, as dammages du dit Robert, de C^l & plus ; a ce q'uil di remandant par devers nous a dit jour ou icesse nostre mandement, cous ce que vous en aurez faitz. Donne foubz le seel de nostre office, le xxiii. jour de November, l'andu regne nostre Seigneur le Roy Henry fisme, plus le conquest d' Angleterre, cetisme."

A grant
of Arms
by Tho-
mas de
Clan-
vow to
Will.
Crike-
tot.

"¶ Sciânt præsentis & futuri quod ego, Thomas de Clanvowe, chivalier, dedi concessi & hac præsentî carta mea confirmavi, Willielmo Criketot confanguineo meo, Arma mea, & jus eadem gerendi quæ mihi jure hæreditario descenderunt : Habend. & tenend. prædicta Arma mea & jus eadem gerendi præfato Willielmo, hæredibus & assignatis suis, absque reclamatione mei vel hæredum meorum im-

perpetuum. Et ego prædictus Thomas & hæredes mei prædicti, Arma & jus eadem gerendi, præfato Williemo, hæredibus & assignatis suis, contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus imperpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium præfenti cartæ meæ sigillum meum apposui. Dat. apud Hergast, in festo Corporis Christi, Anno regni regis Henrici quarti, post conquestum, undecimo."

In this and the succeeding ages, at every expedition, such as were Gentlemen of blood would repair to the Earl Marshal, and by his authority take coats of Arms, which were registred always by officers of Arms in the Rolls of Arms made at every service, whereof many yet remain, as that of the siege of Caerlaveroc, the battel of Sterling, the siege of Calice, and divers Tourniements. At this time there was a distinction of Gentlemen of blood, and Gentlemen of coat-armour, and the third from him that first had coat-armour, was to all purposes, held a Gentleman of blood.

Well, whosoever would note the manners of our progenitours in this age, in wearing their coat-armours over their harness, and bearing their Arms in their shields, in their Banners and Penons; and in what formal manner they were made Bannerets and had licence to rear their Banner of Arms, which they presented rolled up to the Prince, who unfolded, and redelivered it with happy wishes; I doubt not, but that he will judge that our ancestors were as valiant and gallant as they have been since they left off their Arms, and used the colours and curtains of their Mistris beds instead of them.

Now what a large field would lie open to him that should seriously enter into this matter! He might say much, to omit Charges which seem infinite, of the differences in Arms of them which descended of

one House by the male ; I do not mean Labell for the first Son while the Father surviveth ; the Crescent for the second ; the Mullet unpierced for the third ; the Martlet for the fourth ; an Annulet for the fifth ; a Flour de lys for the sixth ; and the rest, according as it pleased the King of Arms ; these, saving the first, were not in use in elder times, but began about the time of King Richard the second, and now, when Families are very far propagated, are not sufficient for that use, for many should bear a Mullet within a Crescent, and an Annulet and Martlet thereupon very confusedly. But in past ages, they which were descended from one stem, reserving the principal Charge and commonly the colour of the Coat, took Borders, Bends, Quarters, Bendelets, Croffets, or some other addition or alteration. As for example, the first Lord Clifford bare Chequy Or and Azure, a Bendelet Geules, which the elder brethren kept as long as they continued ; a second Son turned the Bendelet into a bend Geules, and thereon placed three Lioneux passant Or ; from whom the Cliffords of Frampton descended ; Roger Clifford, a second Son of Walter Clifford the first, for the Bendelet took a Fesse Geules ; as the Earl of Cumberland, from him descended, beareth now ; and the Cliffords of Kent, branched out of that House, took the same with a border Geules. Likewise the eldest House of Stafford bare Or, a Cheverons Geules, but the younger, descended from them, took divers differences, as they of Pipe did set about their Cheveron three Martlets sable, another placed three plates upon the Cheveron ; they of Southwike added a border Sable ; they of Grafton, a Quarter Ermin ; they of Frome, a border Geules ; whereas also the Lord Cobham did bear Geules on a Cheveron Or, three Lioneux rampant sable, the younger brethren of that

house, viz. Cobham of Sterborrow, of Blackburg, of Bilunch took, for the three Lioneux, three Estoiles, three Eaglets, and three Crescents: So of the descendants from the Lords Barkley, they of Stoke, Gifford, and Vesey added Ermines in the Cheveron; they of Beverston, a border of Argent; they of Wimondham, in the County of Leicestershire, changed their ten Crosses into as many Cinquefoiles.

As for the difference of Bastards, none in old time bare the Father's Arms, with a bend sinister, unless they were avowed and bare also their Father's surname, but other coats were commonly devised for them; As Sir Roger of Clarendon, bastard Son of the Black Prince, bare Or on a bend sable three feathers Argent, which was borrowed from his father's devise; John de Clarence, base son to Thomas, Duke of Clarence, who valiantly recovered from the enemy the Corps of his Father slain at the battel of Bavoy, bare party per Cheveron Geules and Azure two Lyons adverse and Salient Gardant Or, in the chief, and a Floure-de-lis Or, in base point; John Beauford, a base son of the house of Somerset, bare party per pale Argent and Azure a bend of England with a label of France, &c.

These Arms were for a long time born single, afterward two were quartered, then more marshalled together, to notify from what houses the bearers were descended by heirs general.

Quartering of Coats began first (as far as I have observed) in Spain, in the Arms of Castile and Leon, when those two kingdoms were conjoyned; which our King Edward the third next imitated when he quartered France and England (for I omit his mother, Queen Isabel, who joyned in her seal England, France, Navarre and Champaine). He in this first quartering varied, sometime placing France,

Quar-
tering.

sometime England, in the first quarter, whether to please either nation, I know not. But at the last he resolved to place France first, whether as more honourable, or of which he held great and rich territories, let others determine. All Kings hitherto succeeding have continued the same. Yea, and when King Charles the sixth of France changed the fêmeé Flour-de-lys into three, our King Henry the fifth did the like, and so it continueth.

The first of the nobility that quartered another Coat was Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, who quartered his own coat with that of Valence, of the house of Lusignian, in whose right he had that Earldome. And shortly after Matila, sister and heir to Anthony, Lord Lucy, gave a great part of her lands to the heir male of the Lord Percy, her second husband, conditionally that her Arms, being three Lucyes and Geules, should be quartered always with Percyes Lyon Azure, rampant Or; and hereupon was a fine leaved in the time of King Richard the second. After these times every gentleman began to quarter the coat of the chief heir with whom his progenitour had matched, and often preferred that in the first place, if she were honourable. But after that divers were marshalled together for the honour of Queen Elizabeth, wife to King Edward the fourth (who first of all our Kings since the Conquest married his subject), so many in imitation did the like, which so increased, that now of late some have packed fifty in one shield. And this is to shew their right; for it was objected against Richard Duke of York, when he claimed the Crown as heir to Lionel, Duke of Clarence, that he did not bear the said Duke's Arms; but he answered thereunto that he might lawfully have done it, but forbore it for a time, as he did for making his claim to the Crown.

Efc. 22
R. 2.
n. 38.

Rot.
Parlam.
39 Hen.
6.

For Augmentations, some were of meer grace, some of merit. Richard the second, choosing Saint Edward the Confessor to be his Patron, empaled his Coat with the Arms of England, and of his meer grace granted to Thomas, Duke of Surrey, to empale likewise the same Saint Edward's Arms in a Border Ermine with his own, and to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, the same holy King's Arms intirely. Notwithstanding, Henry Howard, Earl of Surry, lineally descended from him, was attainted, among other pretences, for so bearing the same. The said King Richard also granted* to his Favorite, Robert Vere, Earl of Oxford and Duke of Ireland, that he should bear during his life Azure 3. Crowns Or within a border Argent. In like manner and respect, to omit many, King Henry the eighth granted to the family of Manours, now Earls of Rutland, the Flowr-de-Lys and Lyons, which he beareth in chief, for that they descended from a sister of King Edward the fourth. He honoured his second wife, Queen Anne Bollen, with three Coats; his third wife, Queen Jane, with one; Katherine Howard, his fifth wife, with two; his last wife, Katherine Par, with one, by way of Augmentation.

Augmen-
tation.

Pat. 9
Ric. 2.

* Pat. 9
R. 2.
p. 1.
m. 1.

For merit he granted* to Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and his posterity, for his victory at Flodden field, wherein King James the Fourth of Scotland was slain, a demy Lion Geules, pierced through the mouth with an arrow, within a double treasure floured of the same, in the midst of the bend of the Howards Arms. And about the same time he rewarded Sir John Clerk, of Buckinghamshire, who did take the Duke of Longvile at the battle of Spurs, with a Canton Azure, therein a demy Ram salient Argent, two Flowers-de-lys, Or in chief;

* Pat. 5
H. 8.
p. 2.
m. 18.

over all a baston trunked in the sinister point of his own Arms (as appeareth upon his Monument at Tame in Oxfordshire) for that no Christian may bear entirely the Arms of a Christian whom he taketh in war. In like manner Ferdinand, King of Spain, honoured Sir Henry Guilford with a Canton of Granado, and Charles the Fifth, Peter Read of Grimingham with a Canton of Barbary, for his service at Tunis.

Infco-
cheon.

An Infchocheon of Arms may have place amongst augmentations, which is the Arms of a Wife, being an Heir general, inserted in the center or middle of her Husbonds Coats after he hath issue by her, to manifest the apparent right of her Inheritance, transmissible to his and her Issue. Otherwise, if she be not Heir, he may but only empale it with his own.

Creasts, being the Ornaments set on the eminent top of the Helm, and called Tymbres by the French, I know not why, were used anciently to terrifie the enemy, and therefore were strange devises, or figures of terrible shapes, as that monstrous horrible Chimera, out-breathing flames upon Turnus Helm in Virgil.

"Galea alta Chimeram

Livius.

Sustinet Ætneos efflantem naribus ignes."

Of which sort many might be remembred, but when as Papirius said of the Samnites Creasts, when he encouraged his Souldiers against them, "*Cristæ vulnera non faciunt*," milder were used, as the Corvus or Raven by the Family of Corvinus; for that, while he fought against his Enemy, a Raven perched upon his Helm, and so seconded him with his bec and fluttering wings, that he gained the victory, whereupon he assumed both his surname and his Creast, as Silius Italicus thus remembreth :

"Noneque superbum
Corvinus, Phoebea sedet cui casside fulva,
Ostentans ales proavitæ insignia pugnae."

And by this Verse of the same Poet :

"Casside cornigera dependens infula."

Infula.

We learn that horns were in use upon Helmets for Creafts, and that a Riband depended from the Helm, as Mantles are painted now.

The first Christians used no other blazon in their shield than the name of Christ, and a cross for their Creaft, whereupon Prudentius—

"Clypeorum insignia Christus
Scripserat, ardebat summis crux addita cristis."

Many years were these Creafts arbitrary, taken up at every man's pleasure; after, they began to be hereditary, and appropriated to Families, here in England first, as hitherto observed, about the time of King Henry the Second. Of what esteem Creafts were in the time of King Edward the Third may appear by Record in the 13. year of his reign, when the said King gave an Eagle, which he himself had formerly born for a Creaft, to William Montacute, Earl of Salisbury; he also gave to him the Mannours of Woodton, Frome, Whitfield, Merthwood, Worth and Pole (which came to his hand by the forfeiture of John Matravers), to the maintenance thereof. And the said Earl regranted the said Creaft to Lionel the King's Son, and his Godson, with much honour. What careful consideration was then of Creafts may also appear by Record among the Patents* 17. of King Richard the Second, who granted that, whereas Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal and Nottingham, might lawfully bear a Leopard Or, with a Labell Argent about his neck, which might lawfully appertain to

* Pat. 17.
R. 2.
p. 1.
m. 2.

the King's Son and Heir, that he should in place of that Labell bear a Crown Argent. More might be hereunto added of Helms, Creafts, Mantles, and Supporters, but for them and fuch like I leave the reader to Edmond Bolton, who learnedly and judiciously hath discovered the first Elements of Armory, to Gerrard Leigh, John Ferne, John Guillim Portismouth, Pursivants of Arms, who have diligently laboured therein, and to others that have written, or will write hereafter in this Argument, lest I should seem to glean from the one, or prevent the other.¹

GRAVE SPEECHES AND WITTY APOTHEGMS OF
WORTHY PERSONAGES OF THIS REALM
IN FORMER TIMES.²

TWENTY years since, while J. Bishop (whose memory for his Learning is dear to me) and my self turned over all our Historians we could then find, for divers ends, we began to note apart the Apothegms or

¹ For an enumeration of English writers on heraldry, both anterior and subsequent to Camden, consult Moule's "Bibliotheca Heraldica." Since the publication of that work several considerable volumes have appeared, two of which may be specified as containing all that is necessary to be known of heraldry for general purposes. My own "Curiosities of Heraldry" (8vo. Lond. 1845) gives the history of the science and expounds its "philosophy," while the "Glossary of Heraldry" (8vo. Oxford, 1847) contains the best elucidation of principles and technical terms.

² One of the most interesting collections of anecdotes in any language.

Speeches (call them what ye will) of our Nation, which since that time I have so far increased as our Countrey-writers (spare in this point) have afforded; and here do offer them unto you. Albeit I do know they will lie open to the censure of the youth of our time, who, for the most part, are so over-gulled with self-liking, that they are more than giddy in admiring themselves, and carping at whatsoever hath been done or said heretofore. Nevertheless, I hope that all are not of one humour, and doubt not but that there is diversity of tastes, as was among Horace's guests, so that which seemeth unfavoury to one may seem dainty to another, and the most witless speech that shall be set down will seem witty to some. We know that whereas Dianaes Temple at Ephesus was burned that night that Alexander the Great was born; one said, "It was no marvel, for she was then absent, as mother Midwife at so great a child-birth." Tully doth commend this for a witty conceit, and Plutarch condemneth it as a witless jest. The like is to be looked for in these; which nevertheless, whatsoever they are in themselves, or in other men's judgments, I commend them to such indifferent, courteous, modest Readers, as do not think basely of the former Ages, their Country, and Countrymen; leaving the other to gather the pregnant Apothegms of our time, which I know will find far more favour. And that I may set them in order of time, I will begin with the ancient Britain Prince, called by the Romans Caratacus (happily in his own tongue Caradoc), who flourished in the parts now called Wales, about the sixtieth year after the birth of Christ.

Caratacus, a Britain who nine years withstood the Roman puissance, was at length vanquished, and in triumphant manner, with his Wife, Daughters,

Cicer. de
Nat.
Deorum,
lib. 2.
Plutarch.
in Alex-
andro.

Tacitus.

and Brethren, presented to Claudius, the Emperour, in the view of the whole City of Rome ; but he, nothing appaled with this adversity, delivered this Speech : " Had my moderation and carriage in prosperity been answerable to my Nobility and Estate, I might have come hither rather a friend than a captive ; neither would you have disdained to have entred amity with me, being nobly descended and soveraign over many people. My present state as it is reproachful to me, so it is honourable to you : I had horsemen, munition and money ; what marvel is it if I were loth to lose them ? If you will be soveraign over all, by consequence all must serve you : had I yielded at the first, neither my power nor your glory had been renowned, and after my execution oblivion had ensued ; but if you save my life, I shall be for ever a president and proof of your clemency. This manly speech purchased pardon for him and his, and the Senate assembled adjudged the taking of this poor Prince of Wales as glorious as the conquering of Siphax, King of Numidia, by P. Scipio, or of Perfes, King of Macedonia, by L. Paulus.

When this Caratacus, now enlarged, was carried about to see the state and magnificence of Rome, " Why do you," said he, " so greedily desire our poor Cottages, when as you have such stately and magnificent Palaces ? " [Zonarus.]

In the time of Nero, when the Britains could no longer bear the injustice wherewith the Romans, both here and elfewhere, grounded their greatness ; Bundica, called by some Boadicia, Princess then of the parts of Norfolk and Suffolk, exceedingly injured by them, animated the Britains to shake off the Roman bondage, and concluded : " Let the Romans, which are no better than Hares and Foxes, understand that they make a wrong match with

Wolfs and Grey-hounds :” And with that word, let an Hare out of her lap, as a fore-token of the Romans’ fearfulness, but the success of the battel proved otherwise. [Xiphilinus.]

Galgacus, a warlike Britain commanding in the North part of this Isle, when he had encouraged his people with a long speech to withstand the Romans, ready to invade them, concluded emphatically with these words : “ You are now come to the shock, think of your Ancestors, think of your Posterity ; ” for the Britains before the arrival of the Romans enjoyed happy liberty, and now were in danger of most heavy slavery.

Severus the Emperour, an absolute Lord of the most part of this Isle, when from mean estate he had ascended to the highest honour, was wont to say : “ I have been all, and am never the better.”

When he lay sick of the gout at York, and the souldiers had saluted his son there, by the name of Augustus, as then Sovereign, he got him up, caused the principal practisers of that fact to be brought before him, and when they, prostrate, craved pardon, he, laying his hand upon his head, said : “ You shall understand that my head, and not my feet, doth govern the Empire ; ” and shortly after ended his life in the City of York with these words : “ I found the State troublesome everywhere, and I leave it quiet even to the Britains, and the Empire sure and firm to my Children, if they be good, but unsure and weak, if they be bad.” A Prince he was, very industrious, of marvellous dispatch, and so inured in continual action, that at the last gasp he said, “ And is there any thing for me to do now ? ”

While he ruled the world was so loose that three thousand were indicted at Rome of adultery, at which time Julia the Empress blamed the Wife of Arge-

tocox, a Northern Britain Lady, that the British women did not according to womanhood carry themselves, in accompanying with men (for then ten or twelve men had two or three Wives common among them). But she, not ignorant of the Roman incontinency, replied: "We accompany indeed with the best and bravest men openly, but most vile and base companions do use you secretly." [Xiphilinus.]

At York also dyed Constantinus Chlorus, the Emperour, who being not able to furnish Dioclesian, his Consort in the Empire, with such a mass of money as he required at that instant, said: "He thought it better for the Common-wealth that money would be in the hands of private men than shut up in the Emperour's coffers;" concurring with Trajane, who compared the treasure of the Prince unto the spleen, that the greater it groweth the limbs are the lesser. [Eusebius.]

His son Constantine, invested in the Empire at York (and a Britain born, as all Writers consent, beside Nicephorus, who lived not long since, and now Lipsius, deceived by the false printed Copy of Julius Firmicus), the first Emperour which advanced the faith of Christ, followed the humility of Christ, for he used to call the common people "His fellow-servants and brethren of the Church of God."

When a flattering Priest (for in all Ages the Clerical will flatter, as well as the Laical) told him that his godliness and virtues justly deserved to have in this world the Empire of the world, and in the world to come to reign with the Son of God, the humble Emperour cried, "Fie, fie, for shame! let me hear no more such unseemly speeches: but rather suppliantly pray unto my Almighty Maker, that in this life, and in the life to come, I may seem worthy to be his servant."

When he fought by severe Edicts to abolish all Heathenish superstition, and laboured by godly Laws to establish the true Religion and Service ; yea, and unceasingly endeavoured to draw men unto the faith, perswading, reproving, praying, intreating in time, out of time, publickly and privately, he one day said merrily, yet truly, unto the Bishop that he had bidden to a banquet, " As ye be Bishops within the Church, so may I also seem to be a Bishop out of the Church."

He dissuading one from covetousness, did with his lance draw out the length and breadth of a man's grave, saying, " This is all that thou shalt have when thou art dead, if thou canst happily get so much."

He made a Law that no Christian should be bondman to a Jew ; and if that any Jew did buy any Christian for his slave, he should be fined therefore, and the Christian enfranchised ; adding this reason, " that it stood not with equity, that a Christian should be slave to the murderers of Christ."

Ethelbert, King of Kent, was hardly induced to embrace Christian Religion at the perswasion of Augustine, sent to convert the English Nation ; but at length, being perswaded and desirous to be baptized, said : " Let us come also to the King of Kings, and giver of Kingdoms ; it may redound to our shame that we, which are first in authority, should come last to Christianity. But I do beseech that true King that he would not respect the precedence in time, but devotion of mind." [Joscelynus.]

When Paulinus brought unto Edwin, King of Northumberland, the glad tidings of the salvation of mankind by Christ, and preached the Gospel unto the King and his Nobility zealously and eloquently,

opening unto them the Myſteries of our Faith and Precepts of Chriſtian Religion, one of the Lords thus ſpake unto the King (but ſome now haply will ſmile at this Speech): "We may aptly compare man's ſtate unto this little Robbin-Red-breſt that is now in this cold weather here in the warm chamber, chirping and ſinging merrily, and as long as ſhe ſhall remain here we ſhall ſee and underſtand how ſhe doth; but anon, when ſhe ſhall be flown hence abroad into the wide world, and ſhall be forced to feel the bitter ſtorms of hard Winter, we ſhall not know what ſhall become of her; ſo likewiſe we ſee how men fare as long as they live among us, but after they be dead neither we nor our Religion have any knowledge what becomes of them; wherefore I do think it wiſdom to give ear unto this man, who ſeemeth to ſhew us, not only what ſhall become of us, but alſo how we may obtain everlaſting life hereafter." [Beda.]

When Rodoald, King of the Eaſt Angles, being won with rewards, was ſhamefully minded to have delivered unto Edelfride, the King of Northumberland, the innocent Prince Edwin, who had fled unto him to be ſaved from the bloody hands of Edelfride, who had unlawfully bereft him of his Kingdom, his wife turned his intent by telling him that, "It ſtood not with the high and ſacred ſtate of a King to buy and ſell the bodies of men, as it were a petty chapman; or, that which is more diſhonourable, ſlave-like to ſell away his faith, a thing which he ought to hold more precious than all the gold and gems of the whole world, yea, and his own life." [Beda.]

Ina, King of Weſt Saxons, had three daughters, of whom, upon a time, he demanded whether they did love him, and ſo would do during their lives,

above all others ; the two elder sware deeply they would ; the youngest, but the wisest, told her Father, without flattery, " That albeit she did love, honour, and reverence him, and so would whilst she lived, as much as nature and daughterly duty at the uttermost could expect, yet she did think that one day it would come to pass that she should affect another more fervently," meaning her Husband, " when she was married, who, being made one flesh with her, as God by commandement had told, and nature had taught her, she was to cleave fast to, forsaking Father and Mother, kisse and kin." [Anonymus.] One referreth this to the Daughters of King Leir.¹

Imperious was that Speech of Theodore the Grecian, Archbishop of Canterbury, in depriving a poor English Bishop, " Although we can charge you with nothing, yet that we will, we will," like to that, " Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas." But humble was the English Bishop's reply ; " Paul appealed from the Jews to Cæsar, and I from you to Christ." [Vitæ S. Wilfredi.]

The Reverend Bede, whom we may more easily admire than sufficiently praise for his profound Learning in a most barbarous Age, when he was in the pangs of death, said to the standers by : " I have so lived among you that I am not ashamed of my life ; neither fear I to die, because I have a most

¹ 'One' William Shakespeare, gent., Camden's greatest contemporary, but as yet unrecognized as the world's greatest genius.

" Why have my sisters husbands, if they say,
They love you all ? Haply, when I shall wed,
That lord, whose hand must take my plight, shall carry
Half my love with him, half my care and duty :
Sure I shall never marry, like my sisters,
To love my father all !"

—*King Lear*, act i. scene 1.

gracious Redeemer." He yielded up his life with this prayer for the Church: "O King of glory! Lord of Hosts! which hast triumphantly ascended into Heaven, leave us not fatherless, but send the promised spirit of thy truth amongst us." Some write that he went to Rome, and interpreted there "S. P. Q. R." in derision of the Gothes swarming to Rome, "*Stultus Populus quærit Romam*;" and that in his return he died at Genoa, where they shew his Tomb. But certain it is that he was sent for to Rome by Sergius, the Pope, and more certain that he died at Weremouth, and from thence was translated to Durham. And that I may incidently note that which I have heard, not many years since a French Bishop, returning out of Scotland, coming to the Church of Durham, and brought to the shrine of Saint Cuthbert, kneeled down, and after his devotions offered a Bauby, saying, "*Sancte Cuthberte, si sanctus sis, ora pro me.*" But afterward, being brought unto the Tomb of Beda, saying likewise his Orisons, offered there a French Crown, with this alteration, "*Sancte Beda, quia sanctus es, ora pro me.*"

Johannes Erigena, furnamed Scotus, a man renowned for Learning, sitting at the Table in respect of his Learning with Charles the Bauld, Emperour and King of France, behaved himself as a slovenly Scholar, nothing courtly; whereupon the Emperour asked him merrily, "*Quid interest inter Scotum & Sotum*"—"What is the difference between a Scot and a Sot?" He merrily, but yet malapertly answered, "*Menfa*," "The Table," as though the Emperour were the Sot, and he the Scot. [Rog. Hovedenus.]

And another time the Emperour did set down unto him a dish, with two fair great fishes and one

little one, willing him to be carver unto two other Scholars that sat beneath him. Then Master John, who was but a little man, layed the two great fishes upon his own trencher, and set down the one little fish unto the other two Scholars, who were big men. Which, when the Emperour saw, he smiling said: "In faith, Master John, you are no indifferent divider." "Yes, if it like your Highness, very indifferent," said he; "for here," pointing to himself and the two great fishes, "be two great ones and a little one; and so yonder," reaching his hand towards the Scholars, "are two big ones and a little one." [*Idem.*]

Winefridus, born at Kirton, in Devonshire, after furnamed Boniface, who converted Freeseland to Christianity, was wont to say: "In old time they were golden Prelats, and wooden Chalices, but in his time wooden Prelats, and golden Chalices." [*Beatus Rhenanus, lib. 2. rerum Germanicarum.*]

Ethelwold, the Bishop of Winchester, in the time of King Edgar, in a great Famine sold away all the sacred gold and silver vessels of all his Church, to relieve the hunger-starved poor people, saying, "That there was no reason that the senseless Temples of God should abound in Riches, and living Temples of the Holy Ghost starve for hunger."

When as Kinnad, King of Scots, a vassal to King Eadgar of England, had said at his Table, "That it stood not with the honour of the Princes of this Isle to be subject to that Dandiprat Eadgar," who was indeed but of small stature, yet full of courage: He understanding thereof, withdrew Kinnad privately into a wood, as though he had to confer with him of some important secret; where he offered him the choice of two swords, prepared for that purpose, with these words: "Now we are alone, you may

try your manhood ; now may it appear who should be subject to the other ; retire not one foot back ; it standeth not with the honour of Princes to brave it at the Table, and not to dare it in the field." But Kinnad, hereat dismayed, desired pardon by excuse, and obtained it. [Malmesburiensis, pag. 33.]

The same King Eadgar, having brought into his subjection the aforesaid Kinnad, King of Scots ; Malcolm, King of Cumberland ; Maccuis, the Arch-pirate Lord of the Isles, with Dufnall, Griffith, Howell, Jacob, Judethill, Princes of Wales, was rowed by them in triumphant manner in his Barge upon the River of Dee at Chester, at which time it is reported he said ; "Then may my Successours, the Kings of England, glory when they shall do the like." [Marianus Scotus, Anno 973.]

When Hinguar of Denmark came so suddainly upon Edmund, the King of the East-Angles, that he was forced to seek his safety by flight, he happened unhappily on a Troup of Danes, who fell to examining of him, whether he knew where the King of the East-Angles was, whom Edmund thus answered : "Even now, when I was in the Palace, he was there, and when I went from thence, he departed thence, and whether he shall escape your hand or no, only God knoweth." But so soon as they once heard him name God, the godless Infidels pitifully martyred him." [Vita Sancti Edmundi.]

When Brithwold, a Noble Saxon, marching against the Danes encamped near Malden, was invited by the Abbot of Ely to take his dinner with him, he refusing answered : "He would not dine from his Companies, because he could not fight without his Companies." [Liber Eliensis.]

King Canutus, commonly called Knute, walking on the Sea-sands near to Southampton, was extolled

by some of his flattering followers, and told that he was a King of Kings, the mightiest that reigned far and near ; that both Sea and Land were at his command. But this speech did put the godly King in mind of the infinite power of God, by whom Kings have and enjoy their power, and thereupon he made this demonstration to refel their flattery : He took off his cloak, and wrapping it round together, fate down upon it near to the Sea, that then began to flow, saying, " Sea, I command thee that thou touch not my feet." But he had not so soon spoken the word but the furing wave dashed him. He then, rising up and going back, said : " Ye see now, my Lords, what good cause you have to call me a King, that am not able by my commandement to stay one wave. No mortal man doubtless is worthy of such an high name, no man hath such command, but one King which ruleth all. Let us honour him, let us call him King of all Kings, and Lord of all Nations : Let us not only confefs, but also profess him to be Ruler of the Heavens, Sea, and Land." [Polydorus, and others.]

When Edric, the extorter, was deprived by King Cnute of the Government of Mercia, he, impatient of the disgrace, told him he had deserved better, for that to pleasure him he had first revolted from his Sovereign King Edmund, and also dispatched him. Whereat Cnute, all appalled, answered ; " And thou shalt die for thy desert, when as thou art a Traitour to God and me, in killing thy King, and my confederate Brother ; His blood be upon thy head, which hast layed hands upon the Lord's Anointed." Some report that he said : " For his deserts he should be advanced above all the Nobility of England," which he immediately performed, advancing his head upon the Tower of London. [Florilegus.]

King Edward the Confessour, one Afternoon lying in his bed with the Curtains drawn round about him, a poor pilfering Courtier came into his Chamber, where, finding the King's Casket open, which Hugoline, his Chamberlain, had forgotten to shut, going forth to pay money in haste, he took out so much money as he could well carry, and went away. But insatiable desire brought him again, and so the third time, when the King, who lay still all this while and would not seem to see, began to speak to him, and bad him speedily be packing: "For he was well if he could see; for if Hugoline came and took him there, he were not only like to lose all that he had gotten, but also stretch an halter." The fellow was no sooner gone, but Hugoline came in; and finding the Casket open, and much money taken away, was greatly moved. But the King willed him not to be grieved, "For," said he, "he that hath it had more need of it than we have." This at that time was adjudged Christian lenity, but I think in our Age it would be accounted simplicity in the worst sence. [*Vita Sancti Edwardi.*]

This Edward hasted out of Normandy, whither his expelled Father, King Ethelred, had fled with him, with a great power to recover the Kingdom of England from the Danes, near unto whose forces he was encamped, ready to give them battle. But when his Captains promised him assured victory, and that they would not leave one Dane alive, "God forbid," quoth Edward, "that the Kingdom should be recovered for me, one man, by the death of so many thousand men: It is better that I do lead a private and unbloody life, than be a King by such butchery:" and therewithall brake up Camp, and retired into Normandy, where he stayed until God sent opportunity to obtain the Kingdom without blood. [*Paulus Æmilius.*]

Harold, as he waited on the cup of the said King Edward, chanced to stumble with one foot, that he almost kissed the ground, but with the other leg he recovered himself, and saved the wine ; whereat his Father, Godwyn, Earl of Kent, who then dined with the King, smiling said : " Now one brother did help another." At this word, although spoken proverbially, the King's blood began to rise, thinking how shamefully they had murdered his Brother Alfrede, and angrily answered : " And so might my Brother have been a help to me if it had pleased you." [Vita S. Edwardi.]

The same King Edward, passing out of this life, commended his Wife to the Nobility, and said, " That she had carried her self as his Wife abroad, but as his Sister or Daughter at home." Afterward, seeing such as were present weeping and lamenting for him, he said : " If you loved me, you would forbear weeping, and rejoyce because I go to my Father, with whom I shall receive the joys promised to the faithful, not through my merits, but by the free mercy of my Saviour, which sheweth mercy on whom he pleaseth." [Eilredus Rivallensis.]

Sywarde, the martial Earl of Northumberland, feeling in his sickness that he drew towards his end, arose out of his bed, and put on his Armour, saying, " That it became not a valiant man to die lying like a beast : " and so he gave up the Ghost standing. As valiantly, both spoken and performed, as it was by Vespasian.

When the said Syward understood that his son, whom he had sent in service against the Scottish men, was slain, he demanded whether his wound were in the forepart or hinder part of his body ; when it was answered in the fore part, he replied : " I am right glad, neither wish any other death to me or mine." [Hen. Huntingdon.]

In this Age, when a Bishop living loofely was charged that his conversation was not according to the Apostles' lives, he made a mock at it, and excused himself with this Verse, which was after taken up for a common excuse in that behalf:

"Nunc aliud tempus, alii pro tempore mores."

[*Anonymus.*]

When the fatal period of the Saxon Empire was now complete, and battels were marshalled between William, Duke of Normandy and Harold, King of England, Girthe, Harold's younger Brother, not holding it best to hazard the Kingdom of England at one cast, signified to the King that the success of war was doubtful, that victory was swayed rather by fortune than by valour, that advised delay was most important in Martial affairs, "And if so be, Brother," said he, "you have plighted your faith to the Duke, retire your self, for no force can serve against a man's own conscience; God will revenge the violation of an oath: You may reserve your self to give them a new encounter, which will be more to their terrour: As for me, if you will commit the charge to me, I will perform both the part of a kind Brother, and a courageous Leader. For being clear in conscience, I shall sell my life or discomfit your enemy with more felicity."

But the King, not liking his speech, answered: "I will never turn my back with dishonour to the Norman, neither can I in any sort digest the reproach of a base mind." "Well then, be it so," said some discontented of the company, "let him bear the brunt that hath given the occasion." [*Anonymus.*]

William Conquerour, when he invaded this Island, chanced at his arrival to be gravelled, and one of his feet stuck so fast in the sand that he fell to the ground. Wherewithal one of his attendants caught

him by the arm, and helped him up, saying: "Stand up, my liege Lord, and be of good chear, for now you have taken fast footing in England;" and then, espying that he brought up sand and earth in his hand, added: "Yea, and you have taken livery and feisin of the Countrey." For you know that in delivering of livery and feisin a piece of the earth is taken. [Hist. Normonica.]¹

A Wizard (or a Wise man, as they then called them) had foretold William that he should safely arrive in England with his whole Army, without any impeachment of Harold; the which, after it came topass, the King sent for the Wizard to confer further with him. But when it was told him that he was drowned in that ship which only of all the whole fleet miscarried, the Conquerour said: "He would never make account of that science that profited more the ignorant than the skilful therein, for he could fore-see my good fortune, but not his own mishap."

That morning that he was to joyn battel with Harold, his Armorer put on his back-piece before, and his breast-plate behind; the which being espied by some that stood by, was taken among them for an ill token, and therefore advised him not to fight that day; to whom the Duke answered: "I force not of such fooleries, but if I have any skill in Southsaying (as in sooth I have none), it doth prognosticate that I shall change Copy from a Duke to a King" [*Idem.*]²

Magick, in the time of Nero, was discovered to be but a vanity; in the declining state of the Roman Empire accounted by the Gentiles a verity; in the

¹ See also "Chronicle of Battel Abbey," Lond. 1851, p. 2.

² *Ibid* p. 3.

time of Hildebrand (if we believe Authors) so approved, that it was commonly practised. For as in the time of Valens divers curious men (as hath been said) by the falling of a ring Magically prepared upon the letters ΘΕΟΔ, judged that one Theodorus should succeed in the Empire, when indeed Theodosius did. So when Hildebrand was Pope, by like curiosities it was found that Odo should succeed. Whereupon Odo, Earl of Kent and Bishop of Bayeux, brother to King William the Conquerour, devoured the Papacy in hope, sent money, his persuading messenger, to Rome, purchased a palace there, and prepared thitherward; when King William, for his presumption, and other his misdemeanours, stayed him, and committed him, saying: "Offensive fool-hardiness must be timely restrained." [Liber Cadomenfis.]

When the same Odo, who was both Bishop of Bayeux in Normandy, and Earl of Kent, in former time had so disloyally carried himself against King William the Conquerour that he complained of him to his Lords. Lanfranc, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, advised the King to commit him. "But what say you," quoth the King, "when as he is a Clergyman?" "You may not," said he, "commit the Bishop of Bayeux, but you may well commit the Earl of Kent." [W. Malmſbur.] Like unto this was that distinction of Píramus, Secretary to Charles the fifth in late years, when Pope Julius the second did combine with the French King against the Emperour, of the Pope's honesty, and Julius's dishonesty, saying, that the Pope was an honest man, but Julius a very Kn.

This King William, by reason of sickness kept his chamber a long time, whereat the French King scoffing, said: "The King of England lyeth long in

child-bed." Which, when it was reported unto King William, he answered; "When I am Churched there shall be a thousand lights in France" (alluding to the lights that women used to bear when they were Churched), and that he performed within few days after, waisting the French frontiers with fire and sword.

The same King, at the time of his death, said: "I appoint no successeur in the Kingdom of England, but I commend it to the eternal God, whose I am, and in whose hands all things are:" haply remembering that of the Monk before specified, pag. 5. [W. Malmſbur.]

This King, perceiving his own defects in some points for want of learning, did exhort his children oftentimes to learning with this saying, "An unlearned Prince is a crowned Ass:" Which speech took so great impression in his son Henry that he obtained by study and learning the surname of Beauclarke, or fine Scholar. [Annales Ecclesiæ Cant. & Malmesburienſis.]

William Rufus loved well to keep vacant Bishopricks and Abbies in his hands, saying: "Christ's bread is sweet, dainty, and most delicate for Kings."

But although this King made most commonly, as it were, port sale of the Spiritual livings, yet when two Monks were at dropvied¹ Bezantines (the currant gold of that age) before him for an Abbey, he espied a third Monk of their company standing in a Corner, whom the King asked what he would give to be Abbot? "Not one farthing," said he, "for I renounced the world and riches, that I might serve God more sincerely." "Then," said the King, "thou art most worthy to be made Abbot, and thou shalt have it." [Liber Cantuar.]

¹ "Drop-vie," a gambling term, to hazard.

When news was brought him that the French King had besieged the City of Constances, in Normandy, he posted with a few to the Sea-coast to take ship. But because the wind blew very strong from the South, the Sailers signified that it was very dangerous for him to take Sea ; but the King replied, " Hoise up sails in God's name, for I have not heard of a King drowned by tempest : You shall see both wind and weather serviceable to us." Answerable to that of Julius Cæsar, which enforced a poor Pilot in the like case to launch forth, and in the rage of the storm comforted him with saying, *Cæsarem & Cæsaris fortunam vehis*. And as courageously was that of Charles the Fifth, who in the battle of Tunis, when he was advised by the Marquefs of Guasto to retire his Person when the great Ordnance began to play, said : " Marquefs, thou never heardst that an Emperour was slain with a great shot."

I will here present you with another Speech (or call it what you will) of the same King William Rufus, out of the good and Historical Poet Robert of Glocester, that you may compare a Prince's pride in that Age with our private pride, and that our first finest Poets may smile at the Verses of that time, as succeeding Ages, after some hundred years will haply smile at theirs :

" As his Chamberlain him brought, as he rose on a day,
A morrow for to wear, a pair of hose of Say :
He asked what they costned, three shillings, he seid,
Fie a Dibles, quoth the King, who sey so vile a deed ?
King to wear so vile a cloth, but it costned more,
Buy a pair for a marke, or thou shalt ha cory fore.
A worfe pair enough, the other swith him brought,
And said they costned a marke, and unneth he them so bought :
Aye, bel-amy, quoth the King, these were well bought,
In this manner serve me, other ne serve me not."

Hitherto also may be referred that of this King William, who the morning before he was slain with an arrow in hunting, told his company he dreamed the last night before that an extreme cold wind passed through his sides; whereupon some dissuaded him to hunt that day; but he resolved to the contrary, answering, "They are no good Christians that regard dreams." But he found the dream too true, being shot through the side by Walter Tirell. [Fragmentum antiquæ historiæ Franc. a P. Pithæo editum.]

Of Henry the first I have read no memorable speech, but what I have read I will report. He was by common voice of the people commended for his wisdom, eloquence and victories; dispraised for covetousness, cruelty and lechery (of which he left proof by his sixteen Bastards.) But it seemeth that his justice was deemed by the common people to be cruelty, for the learned of that age surnamed him the "Lyon of Justice." [Huntingd. Polycraticon, Gemeticensis.]

It was the custom of the Court in the time of King Henry the first that Books, Bills, and Letters should be drawn and signed for servitors in the Court, concerning their own matters, without fee. But at this time Turstane, the King's steward, or Le Despencer, as they then called him, from whom the family of the L. Spencers came, exhibited to the King a complaint against Adam of Yarmouth, Clerk of the Signet, for that he refused to sign without fee a Bill passed for him. The King first heard Turstane, commending the old custome at large, and charging the Clerk for exacting somewhat contrary thereunto for passing his Book. Then the Clerk was heard, who briefly said, "I received the Book, and sent unto your steward, desiring him only

Gaſtel-
los.

to beſtow on me two ſpice Cakes, made for your own mouth, who returned answer, He would not, and thereupon I denied to ſeal his Book." The King greatly diſliked the ſteward for returning that negative, and forthwith made Adam ſit down upon the bench, with the ſeal and Turſtane's Book before him, but compelled the ſteward to put off his Cloak, to fetch two of the beſt ſpice Cakes for the King's own mouth, to bring them in a fair white Napkin, and with low courteſie to preſent them to Adam the Clerk; which being accordingly performed, the King commanded Adam to ſeal and deliver him his book, and made them friends, adding this ſpeech, "Officers of the Court muſt gratifie, and ſhew a caſt of their office, not only one to another, but alſo to all ſtrangers, whenſoever need ſhall require." [Gualterus Mapes, De nugis Curialium].

There was allowed a pottle of wine for livery every night to be ſerved up to King Henry the firſt's chamber, but becauſe the King did ſeldom or never uſe to drink in the night, Paine Fitz-John, his Chamberlain, and the Pages of the Chamber did carowe the wine among them. On a time it happened the King at midnight called for wine, but none was to be found; Paine and the Pages beſtirred themſelves in vain, ſeeking wine here and there. Paine was called in to the King, who aſked him if there were not allowance for livery? he humbly answered, That there was a pottle allowed every night, but for that he never called for it (to ſay the truth in hope of Pardon) we drunk it up amongſt us. "Then," quoth the King, "have you but one pottle every night? That is too ſhort for me and you; from henceforth there ſhall be a whole gallon allowed, whereof the one pottle ſhall be for me, the other for you and yours." This I note, not for any gravity,

but that the King in that age was commended herein both for bounty and clemency. [Gualterus Mapes.]

Queen Maud, wife to King Henry the first of England, and daughter to Malcolm Canmore, King of Scotland, was so devoutly religious that she would go to Church barefoot, and always exercise her self in works of charity, insomuch that when David her brother came out of Scotland to visit her, he found her in her privy chamber with a towel about her middle, washing, wiping, and kissing poor people's feet, which he disliking, said, "Verily, if the King your husband knew this, you should never kiss his lips." She replied, "That the feet of the King of Heaven are to be preferred before the lips of a King in earth." [Guil. Malmes. & Matth. Paris.]

Simon, Dean of Lincoln, who for his Court-like carriage was called to Court, and became a favourite of this King Henry, was wont to say: "I am cast among Courtiers, as salt among quick Eeles," for that he salted, powdered, and made them stir with his salt and sharp quipping speeches. But what saith the Authour, who reporteth this of him? "The salt lost his season by the moisture of the Eeles, and was cast out on the dunghil," for he, incurring hatred in Court, "was disgraced, committed, and at last banished." [Henr. Huntingdon in Epistola.]

When the Scots in the time of King Stephen, with a great army invaded England, the Northern people brought to the field the Earl of Albemarle, the only respected heir of those parts, in his cradle, and placed him by the Standard, hoping thereby to animate the people. But Ralph, Bishop of Duresme, animated them more with this saying, "Assure your selves that this multitude, not trained by discipline, will be cumbersome to it self in good success, and in

distress easily discomfited." Which proved accordingly, for many Scottishmen left their carcases in the field. [Historiola de Standardo.]

Maud the Empress, daughter and heir of this King Henry the first, which stiled her self Lady of the Englishmen, would often say to her son King Henry the Second: "Be hasty in nothing, hawks are made more serviceable when ye make fair shews of offering meat often, and yet with-hold it the longer." [Gualterius Mapes]. Other Maximes of her, *In arte Regnandi*, proceeding from a niggish old wife, I wittingly omit as unbecoming a Prince.

Robert, Earl of Gloucester, base son to King Henry the first, the only martial man of England in his age, used Stephen Beauchampe with all grace and countenance, as his only favourite and privado, to the great dislike of all his followers. Whereupon, when he was distressed in a conflict, he called to some of his company for help, but one bitterly bade him "Call now to your Stephen." "Pardon me, pardon me," replyeth the Earl, "in matters of venery I must use my Stephen, but in Martial affairs I relye wholly upon you." [Gualter Mapes, De Nugis Curialium.]

Henry the Second caused his eldest Son Henry to be crowned King, and that day served him at the Table. Whereupon the Arch-bishop of York said unto the young King, "Your Majesty may rejoice, for there is never a Prince in the world that hath this day such a waiter at his Table as you have." "Wonder you so much at that, my Lord," said the young King, "and doth my father think it an abasement for him, being descended of royal blood only by his mother, to serve me at the Table, that have both a King to my father, and a Queen to my mother?" Which proud speech, when the unfortunate father

heard, he rounded the Arch-bishop in the ear, and said: "I repent me, I repent me of nothing more than of untimely advancements." [Anonymus.]

Wimund, Bishop of the Isle of Man, in the time of King Stephen, a martial Prelate (as many were in that age), after he had with many an inrode annoyed the Scots, some English procured by them suddainly apprehended him, put out his eyes; and gelded him, as my Authour saith, for the Peace of the Kingdom, not for the Kingdom of Heaven. Who, after retiring himself to the Abbey of Biland in York-shire, would often couragiously say, "Had I but a sparrow's eye, my enemies should never carry it away scot-free." [Nubrigenfis.]

When King Henry the Second was at S. David's, in Wales, and from the cliffs there in a clear day discovered the coast of Ireland, that most mighty Monarch of this Realm said: "I with my ships am able to make a bridge thither, if it be no further:" which speech of his being related to Murchard, King of Lemster, in Ireland, he demanded if he added not to his speech "with the grace of God?" When it was answered that he made no mention of God, then said he more chearfully, "I fear him less which trusteth more to himself than to the help of God." [Giraldus Cambrensis.]

Owen of Keveliac, Prince of Powis, admitted to the table of King Henry the second at Shrewsbury, the King, the more to grace him, reached him one of his own loaves, which he, cutting in small pieces and setting them as far off as he could reach, did eat very leisurely. When the King demanded what he meant thereby, he answered, "I do as you my Sovereign;" meaning that the King in like manner took the fruition of offices and spiritual preferments as long as he might. [Giraldus.]

The same King Henry, returning out of Ireland, arrived at St. David's, in Wales, where it was signified unto him that the Conquerour of Ireland, returning that way, should die upon a stone called Lech-laver, near the Church-yard : whereupon in a great presence he passed over it, and then, reproving the Welsh Britain's credulity in Merlin's Prophecies, said : " Now who will hereafter credit that liar Merlin ? " [Giraldus.]

Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London, disliking Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, would say oftentimes, *Ad Zachæum non divertisset Dominus, nisi de sicomoro jam descendisset* : " That Zacheus had never entertained and lodged Christ, unless he had come down from the fig-tree ; " as though Christ could never like the lofty, until they would humiliate themselves, and come down. [Anonymus MS.]

The same King would often say, " The whole world is little enough for a great Prince. " [Girald. in Distinct.]

In the time of this Henry the second, the See of Lincoln was so long void, as a certain Convert of Tame prophesied that there would be no more Bishops of Lincoln. But he proved a truthless Prophet, for Geoffrey, the King's base son, was preferred after sixteen years' vacancy thereunto, but so fit a man, as one said of him, " That he was skilful in fleecing, but unskilful in feeding. " [Vita Episcoporum Eboracensium.]

This gallant base Bishop would in his protestations and oaths always protest, " By my faith, and the King my father. " But Walter Mapes, the King's chaplain, told him, " You might do as well to remember sometimes your mother's honesty, as to mention so often your father's royalty. " [Mapes, De Nugis Curialium.] This Bishop Geoffrey, in all

his instruments passing from him, used the stile of "G. Archiepiscopus Eborum ;" but in the circumference of his Seal, to notifie his royal parentage, "Sigillum Galfredi filii Regis Anglorum," as I observed in his Seals.

Savage, a Gentleman, which among the first English had planted himself in Ulster, in Ireland, advised his son for to build a Castle for his better defence against the Irish Enemy, who valiantly answered, "That he would not trust to a Castle of stones, but to his Castle of bones," Meaning his body. [Marlebrigenfis.]

Robert Blanchmains, Earl of Leicester, was wont to say, "Sovereign Princes are the true Types or resemblances of God's true Majesty," in which respect, faith mine Authour, Treason against the Prince's Person was called *Crimen Majestatis*. [Polycraticon.]

Pope Adrian the Fourth, an Englishman born, of the Family of Breakspear, in Middlesex, a man commended for converting Norway to Christianity before his Papacy, but noted in his Papacy for using the Emperour Frederick the Second as his Page in holding his stirrop, demanded of John of Sarisbury, his Countreyman, what opinion the World had of the Church of Rome and of him ; who answered : "The Church of Rome, which should be a Mother, is now a Step mother, wherein sit both Scribes and Pharisees ; and as for yourself, when as you are a Father, why do you expect pensions from your Children ?" &c. Adrian smiled, and after some excuses told him this Tale, which, albeit it may seem long, and is not unlike that of Menenius Agrippa in the Roman History, yet give it the reading, and happily you may learn somewhat by it. "All the members of the body conspired against the

stomach, as against the swallowing gulf of all their labours; for whereas the eyes beheld, the ears heard, the hands laboured, the feet travelled, the tongue spake, and all parts performed their functions, only the stomach lay idle and consumed all: Hereupon they joyntly agreed all to forbear their labours, and to pine away their lazy and publick enemy. One day passed over, the second followed very tedious, but the third day was so grievous to them all, that they called a common Council. The eyes waxed dim, the feet could not support the body, the arms waxed lazy, the tongue faltered, and could not lay open the matter, therefore they all with one accord desired the advice of the Heart. Their reason laid open before them, that he against whom they had proclaimed wars was the cause of all this their misery; for he, as their common steward, when his allowances were withdrawn, of necessity withdrew theirs from them, as not receiving that he might allow. Therefore it were a far better course to supply him than that the limbs should faint with hunger. So, by the perswasion of Reason, the stomach was served, the limbs comforted, and peace re-established. Even so it fareth with the bodies of Commonwealths; for albeit the Princes gather much, yet not so much for themselves as for others so that if they want they cannot supply the want of others; therefore do not repine at Princes herein but respect the common good of the whole publick estate." [*Idem.*]

Oftentimes would he say, "All his preferment never added any one jot to his happiness or quietness." [*Idem.*]

He also (that I may omit other of his Speeches would say: "The Lord hath dilated me by hammering me upon the anvil; but I beseech him he

would underlay his hand to the unsupportable burthen which he hath laid upon me." [*Idem.*]

When it was signified unto King Richard the First, Son to the foresaid King Henry, sitting at Supper in his Palace at Westminster (which we call the old Palace now), that the French King besieged his Town of Vernoi, in Normandy, he in greatness of courage protested in these words ; " I will never turn my back until I have confronted the French." For performance of which his Princely word, he caused the wall in his Palace at Westminster to be broken down directly towards the South, posted to the coast, and immediately into Normandy, where the very report of his suddain arrival so terrified the French that they raised the siege and retired themselves. [*Ypodigma.*]

The same King Richard, purposing an expedition into the holy Land, made money at all hands ; and among other things sold unto Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, the Earldom of Northumberland, merrily laughing when he invested him, and saying ; " Am not I cunning, and my Craft's-master, that can make a young Earl of an old Bishop ? " But this Prelate was fit to be an Earl, for the world (as one of that Age said of him) " was not crucifixus to him, but infixus in him." [*Lib. Denelm.*]

One Fulke, a Frenchman of great opinion for his Holiness, told this King Richard that he kept with him three Daughters that would procure him the wrath of God if he did not shortly rid himself of them. " Why, Hypocrite," quoth the King, " all the world knoweth that I never had child." " Yea," said Fulke, " you have, as I said, three ; and their names are Pride, Covetousness and Lechery." " Is it so ? " said the King, " you shall see me presently bestow them : the Knights Tem-

plars shall have Pride ; the white Monks Covetousness, and the Clergy Lechery ; and there have you my three daughters bestowed among you."

When there was a fair opportunity offered unto this King Richard, and to Hugh, Duke of Burgundy, for the surprise of Jerusalem, they marched forward in two battels from Acres. The King of England led the first, the Duke of Burgundy the other ; when they approached, the Duke of Burgundy, envying the glory of the English, signified to the King of England that he would retire with his Company, because it should not be said that the English had taken Jerusalem. While this message was delivering, and the King grieving that so glorious an enterprize was so overthwarted by envy, one amongst the English Companies cried aloud to the King, and said, "Sir, Sir, come hither, and I will shew you Jerusalem." But King Richard cast his Coat of Arms before his face, and weeping uttered these words with a loud voice : "Ah ! my Lord God, I beseech thee that I may not see thy holy City Jerusalem, when as I am not able to deliver it out of the hands of the enemies." [Jan Sire de Jonville, in the life of Saint Lewes, cap. 70.] This Authour also giveth this testimony of the said King in the eighth Chapter of the said Book : "This Prince was of such prowess, that he was more feared and redoubted amongst the Sarazens than ever was any Prince Christian. Insomuch that when as their little Infants began to cry, their mother would say, to make them hold their peace, 'King Richard cometh, and will have you ;' and immediately the little children, hearing him named, would forbear crying:" and likewise the Turks and Sarazens, when their Horses at any time started, they would put spur to them and say, "What, you jades, you think King Richard is here?"

When the same King Richard had fortunately taken in a skirmish Philip, the Martial Bishop of Beavoy, a deadly enemy of his, he cast him in Prison with bolts upon his heels, which being complained of unto the Pope, he wrote earnestly unto him not to detain his dear Son, an Ecclesiastical person, and a Shepherd of the Lord's, but to send him back unto his flock. Whereupon the King sent unto the Pope the Armour that he was taken in, and willed his Ambassadour to use the words of Jacob's Sons unto their Father, when they had fold away their Brother Joseph, "*Hanc invenimus, vide utrum tunica filii tui sit, an non.*" This we found; see whether it be the Coat of thy son, or no." "Nay," quoth the Pope, "it is not the Coat of my son, nor of my brother, but some imp of Mars, and let him procure his delivery if he will, for I will be no mean for him."

When the French King and King Richard the First began to parly of peace, his Brother John, who had falsly and unnaturally revolted unto the French King, fearing himself, came in of his own accord, and suppliantly besought Richard, Brotherly to pardon his manifold offences, that he had unbrotherly committed against him; he rehearsed the straight League of brotherly piety; he recounted the many merits of his Brother; he bewailed with tears that hitherto he had been unmindful of them, as an unnatural and unthankful Person. Finally, that he doth live, and shall live, he doth acknowledge that he hath received it at his hands. The King being mollified with this humble submission, said: "God grant that I may as easily forget your offences as you may remember wherein you have offended."

In the woful Wars with the Barons, when King John was viewing of the Castle of Rochester, held

againſt him by the Earl of Arundel, he was eſpied by a very good Arcubaliſter, who told the Earl thereof, and ſaid that he would ſoon diſpatch the cruel Tyrant if he would but ſay the word. "God forbid, vile Varlet," quoth the Earl, "that we ſhould procure the death of the holy one of God." "What," ſaid the Souldier, "he would not ſpare you if he had you at the like advantage." "No matter for that," quoth the Earl, "God's good will be done, and he will diſpoſe thereof, and not the King." [Matth. Paris].

When one about him ſhewed where a Noble man that had rebelliously born arms againſt him lay very honourably entombed, and adviſed the King to deſace the Monument, he ſaid, "No, no, but I would all the reſt of mine enemies were as honourably buried." [*Idem*].

When divers Greeks came hither, and offered to prove that there were certain errours in the Church of England at that time, he rejected them, ſaying, "I will not ſuffer our faith eſtabliſhed to be called in queſtion with doubtful diſputations." [Fragm. antiquum editum à P. Pithæo].

Yet when the ſaid King John ſaw a fat Buck haunched, he ſaid profanely to the ſtanders by, "See how fair and fat this Buck is, and yet he never heard Maſs all his life long." But this may be forged to his diſgrace by the envious. [Matth. Paris].

In a ſolemn Conference between King Henry the Third of England and Saint Lewes, King of France, the only devout Kings of that Age, when the French King ſaid, He had rather hear ſermons than hear Maſſes, our King replied, which ſome will ſmile at now (but according to the Learning of that time), That he had rather ſee his loving friend (meaning the real preſence of Chriſt in the Sacra-

ment) than to hear never so much good of him by others in Sermons. This I note, because it was then thought facetious, which I doubt not but some will now condemn as superstitious. [Guil. Rishanger].

Peckham, that Optical Archbishop of Canterbury, who wrote "*Perspectiva Communis*," when Pope Gregory the Tenth, who had created him Archbishop, commanded him to pay four thousand marks within four months, under pain of Excommunication, he, that came unto the See then deeply indebted, said: "Behold, you have created me; and as a Creature doth desire to be perfected by his Creatour, so I do in my oppressions flie unto your Holiness to be recreated." [Archiep. Cantuar.]

Sewal, Archbishop of York, much aggrieved with some practices of the Pope's Collectors in England, took all patiently, and said: "I will not with Cham discover the nakedness of my Father, but cover and conceal it with Sem." As Constantine the Great said that he would cover the faults of Bishops and Fathers of the Church with his Imperial Robe. [Matth. Paris].

Pope Innocentius the Fourth, when he offered the Kingdom of Sicil and Naples to Richard, Earl Cornewall, with many impossible conditions, "You might as well," said the Earl's Agent at Rome, "say to my Lord and Master, I sell or give you the Moon, climb up, catch it, and take it." [Anonymus qui incipit, *Rex Pictorum*.]

Alexander, Successour to Innocentius, sent unto the said Earl Richard to borrow a great mass of money; but the Earl answered, "I will not lend to my Superior, upon whom I cannot distrain for the Debts." This Richard is reported, by the said Author, to have had so great Treasure that he was able to dispend for ten years an hundred marks a

day, which, according to the Standard of that time, was no small sum. [*Idem*].

In the Reign of King Henry, a Bishop of London stoutly withstood the Pope's Nuncio, that would have levied exactions of the Clergy : Whereupon the Nuncio complained unto the King, who shortly menaced the Bishop, and told him he would cause the Pope to pluck his Peacock's tail : but the Bishop boldly answered the King, that the Pope and he, being too strong for him, might bereave him of his Bishoprick by might, but never by right ; and that although they took away his Mitre, yet they would leave him his Helmet. [*Lib. Cantuar*].

Wicked rather than witty is that of a Dean, High Treasurer of England, that had demeaned himself so well in his Office, that when he died he made this wicked Will : "I bequeath all my Goods and Possessions unto my Liege Lord the King, my Body to the Earth, and my soul to the Devil." [*Idem.*]¹

When Edward the First heard of the death of his only Son, he took it grievously as a Father, but patiently as a wise man. But when he understood shortly after of the departure of his Father, King Henry the Third, he was wholly dejected and comfortless ; whereat, when Charles King of Sicily,

¹ This reminds us of the speech of Henry II. to the brethren of a certain monastery who had applied to the monarch for leave to bury the body of Alan de Neville, the king's forester, in their church, hoping by this means to acquire some of his lands :—

" You may have, if so you please,
The carcase of Alan de Neville ;
But his substance I shall seize,
And his soul may go to the D— ! "

—*Chron. of Battel Abbey*, p. 124.

with whom he then sojourned in his return from the Holy Land, greatly marvelled, He satisfied him with this, "God may send more Sons, but the death of a Father is irrecoverable." [Walsingham].

This is that King Edward the First who, as in lineaments of body he surpassed all his people, being, like Saul, higher than any of them, so in prudence conjoined with valour and industry he excelled all our Princes, giving thereby sure anchor-hold to the Government of this Realm, waving up and down before most uncertainly. Which he effected not so much by establishing good Laws, as by giving life unto his Laws, by due execution. And as my Authour saith, "*Judices potissimum judicans quos constituit judices aliorum.*" Who addeth also this of him: "*Nemo in consiliis illo argutior, in eliquio torrentior, in periculis securior, in prosperis cautior, in adversis constantior.*" [Commendatio lamentabilis in transitu Regis Edw. primi.]

Whereas the Kings of England before his time used to wear their Crown upon all solemn Feast-days, he first omitted that custom, saying merrily: "That Crowns do rather onerate than honour Princes." [*Idem tractatus.*]

When a simple religious man, seeing him meanly attired, wondring thereat, asked him why he, being so potent a Prince, wore so simple a sute, he answered, "Father, Father, you know how God regardeth Garments: What can I do more in Royal Robes than in this my Gabberdine?" [*Idem.*]

When the Clergy, pretending a discharge by a Canon, lately made at the Council held at Lyons in France, would contribute nothing to the temporal necessities of King Edward, he said unto them in Parliament, "Seeing you do refuse to help me, I will also refuse to help you, &c. If you deny to pay

tribute to me as unto your Prince, I will refuse to protect you as my Subjects ; and therefore, if you be spoyled, robbed, maimed, and murthered, seek for no succour nor defence of me or mine."

The Pope sent an Injunction unto the same Edward, the which was delivered unto him in one of his Journeys against the Fautours of John Baliol King of Scotland ; the tenour of it was that he should surcease to disquiet the Scots, which were an exempt Nation, and properly appertaining to the Roman Chappel, wherefore the City of Jerusalem could not but defend her Citizens, and help them that did trust in the Lord, like Mount Sion. He had no sooner read it, but rapping out an Oath, said : "I will not hold my peace for Sion nor Jerusalem's rest, as long as there is breath in my body, but will prosecute my just right known unto all the World, and defend it to the death." [Tho. Walsingham.]

When John, Earl of Athol, nobly descended, who had with other murthered John Comin, was apprehended by King Edward the First, and some intreated for him, the King answered : "The higher his calling is, the greater must his fall be ; and as he is of higher Parentage, so he shall be the higher hanged," which accordingly was performed, for he was hanged on a Gallows fifty foot high. [Florilegus.]

When as in siege of the Castle of Strivelin in Scotland King Edward the First, by his over-forwardness, was often endangered, some advised him to have more regard to his Person, he answered them with that of David in the Psalm, "A thousand shall fall at my side, and ten thousand at my right hand, but it shall not come near me." [Florilegus.]

When the Learned Lawyers of the Realm were consulted in a cause by him, and after long consultation did not satisfy him, he said (as Kings impatient

of delays may be bold with their Lawyers, "My Lawyers are long advising, and never advised." [Florilegus]. As for other Speeches of his I wittingly and willingly overpass.

Eleanor, Wife to King Edward the First, a most vertuous and wise woman, when he took his long and dangerous Voyage into the Holy Land, would not be dissuaded to tarry at home, but would needs accompany him, saying: "Nothing must part them whom God hath joyned, and the way to Heaven is as near in the Holy Land (if not nearer) as in England or Spain."

This worthy Queen maketh me remember Eubulus, a scoffing Comical Greek Poet, which curseth himself if ever he opened his mouth against Women, inferring, albeit Medea were wicked, yet Penelope was peerless: if Clytemnestra were naught, yet Alcestes was passing good; if Phædra were damnable, yet there was another laudable. But here, saith he, "I am at a stand; of good Women I find not one more, but of the wicked I remember thousands." Beshrew this scoffer, ye good Wives all, and let his curse fall upon him, for of your kind may many a million be found, yea, of your own Country; and that I may reserve other to a fitter place, I will shew unto you a rare example in this Queen of England a most loving and kind Wife, out of Rodericus Sanctius, not mentioned by our Historians.

When King Edward the First was in the Holy Land, he was stabbed with a poisoned Dagger by a Sarazen, and through the rancor of the poyson the wound was judged incurable by his Physicians, this good Queen Eleanor his Wife, who had accompanied him in that journey, endangering her own life, in loving affection saved his life, and eternized her own honour; for she dayly and nightly sucked

out the rank poyson, which love made sweet to her, and thereby effected that which no Art durst attempt, to his safety, her joy, and the comfort of all England. So that well worthy was she to be remembred by those Crosses as Monuments, which instead of Statues were erected by her Husband to her honour at Lincoln, Grantham, Stanford, Ged-dington, Northampton, Stony-Stratford, Dunstable, Saint Albanes, Waltham, and that of Westminster, called Charing-Cross, all adorned with the Arms of Castile, Leon, and the County of Pontieu, which by her right was annexed to the Crown of England.

Robert Winchelsey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was banished by King Edward the First, but afterward restored again by him, and all the Rents that had been sequestred during his absence repayed him: whereby he became the richest Archbishop that had been in that seat before him: Wherefore, often recording his troubles, he would say: "Adversity never hurteth where no iniquity overruleth." [Lib. Cantuar.]

William de March, Lord Treasurer unto King Edward the First, caused all the Treasure throughout all the Land, that was laid up in the Monasteries and Churches, to be at one instant violently taken away by Military men, saying, "It is better that money should be moving, and according to the name be currant, and go abroad to the use of the people, than resting in chests without fruit and occupation:" concurring in this last point with a Maxime of the Ufurers Hall.

Of King Edward the Second, I find nothing memorable but that which grief and great indignity wrested from him, when Corney and his rascal rabblements, after his disposition, would needs shave him on the way, lest he should be known and rescued.

They enforced him to sit down upon a mole-hill, and the Knave Barber insulting told him that cold water taken out of the next ditch should serve for his trimming at that time. He answered, "Whether you will or no, there shall be warm water:" and therewithall, he shedding tears plentifully, verified his words. [Thom. de la More.]

After the battle of Poitiers, James, Lord Audley, was brought to the Black Prince in a litter most grievously wounded, for he had carried himself most valiantly that day. To whom the Prince, with due commendations, gave for his good service four hundred marks of yearly revenues. The which he, returning to his Tent, gave as frankly to his four Esquires, that attended him in the battle: whereof when the Prince was advertised, doubting that his gift was contemned, as too little for so great good service, the Lord Audley satisfied him with this answer: "I must do for them who deserved best of me. These my Esquires saved my life amidst the enemies. And God be thanked, I have sufficient Revenues left by my Ancestours to maintain me in your service." Whereupon the Prince, praising his prudence and liberality, confirmed his gift made to his Esquires, and assigned him moreover six hundred marks of like Land in England. [Froissard].

William Wickham, after Bishop of Winchester, came into the service, and also into the greater favour of King Edward the Third, by being Overseer of his great Work at Windsor, whereas before he served as a poor Parish Priest. Wherefore he caused to be written in one of his windows, "This Work made Wickham." Which being told unto the King, he was offended with Wickham, as though he had gone about to rob him of the glory of that Magnificent Work. But when Wickham told him

that his meaning was that that Work had been his making and advancement, the King rested content and satisfied. [Vita Wiccami.]

When the said William Wickham (as it is commonly said) sued unto Edward the Third for the Bishoprick of Winchester, the King told him that he was unmeet for it, because he was unlearned; but he said, "In recompence thereof, I will make many learned men." The which he performed indeed, for he founded New Colledge in Oxford, and another in Winchester, which Houses have afforded very many learned men both to the Church and to the Commonwealth.

When Henry of Lancaster, surnamed the good Earl of Darby, had taken (1341) Bigerac in Gascoigne, he gave and granted to every Souldier the House which every one should first seize upon, with all therein. A certain souldier of his brake into a Mint-master's house, where he found so great a mass of money that he, amazed therewith, as a prey greater than his desert and desire, signified the same unto the Earl, who with a liberal mind answered, "It is not for my state to play Boy's play, to give and take. Take thou the money, if it were thrice as much." [Walsingham.]

When news was brought unto King Richard the second, that his Uncles of York and Gloucester, the Earls of Arundel, Warwick, Darby and Nottingham, with other of that faction, who sought to reform the misorders of the King, or rather of his Counsellors, were assembled in a Wood near unto the Court; after he had asked other men's opinions, what was to be done in so weighty and doubtful a case, at length he merrily demanded of one Sir Hugh a Linne, who had been a good military man in his days, but was then somewhat distraught of his

wits, what he would advise him to do : " Issue out," quoth Sir Hugh, " and let us set upon them, and slay them, every mother's son ; and by God's eyes, when thou hast so done, thou hast killed all the faithful friends that thou hast in England." [Anonymus.]

King Henry the fourth, a wise Prince, who full well knew the humour of the English, in his admonition to his son, at his death, said : " Of Englishmen, so long as they have wealth and riches, so long shalt thou have obeyfance ; but when they be poor, they be always ready to make insurrections at every motion." [Hall.]

King Henry the fourth, during his sickness, caused his Crown to be set on his pillow, at his bed's head, and suddenly his pain so sore troubled him, that he lay as though his vital spirits had been from him departed : Such Chamberlains as had the care and charge of his body, thinking him to be dead, covered his face with a linnen cloth. The Prince his son, being thereof advertised, entred into the Chamber, and took away the Crown, and departed. The Father, being suddenly revived out of his trance, quickly perceived that his Crown was taken away : and understanding that the Prince his Son had it, caused him to repair to his presence, requiring of him for what cause he had so misused himself. The Prince with a good audacity answered : " Sir, to mine and all men's judgments you seemed dead in this world ; wherefore I, as your next and apparent heir, took that as mine own, not as yours." " Well, fair son," said the King with a great sigh, " what right I had to it, and how I enjoyed it, God knoweth." " Well," quoth the Prince, " if you dye King, I will have the garland, and trust to keep it with the Sword against all mine enemies, as you have done." [Hall.]

King Henry the fifth, when he prepared wars against France, The Dolphin of France sent him a present of Paris Balls, in derision ; but he returned for answer, "That he would shortly send him London Balls, which should shake Paris walls." [Anonymus Anglicè.]

When King Henry the fifth had given that famous overthrow unto the French at Agincourt, he fell down upon his knees, and commanded his whole army to do the same : saying that verse in the Psalm, "Non nobis Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam : Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name give the glory."

Henry the sixth did take all injuries, whereof he received plenty, so patiently, that he not only did not seek to revenge them, but "gave God thanks that he did send them to punish his sins in this life, that he might escape punishment in the life to come." [Vita Henrici Sexti.] As the Emperour Frederick the third, when he heard of the death of a great Noble man of Austria, who lived ninety three years most wickedly in fleshly pleasures, and yet never once afflicted with grief or sickness, said : "This proveth that which Divines teach, that after death there is some place where we receive reward or punishment ; when we see often in this World, neither the just rewarded, nor the wicked punished."

The same King Henry, having in Christmas a shew of young women, with their bare breasts laid out, presented before him, he immediately departed with these words,—“Fie, fie for shame, forsooth you be to blame.” [*Idem.*]

He receiving on a time a great blow by a wicked man, which compassed his death, he only said, “Forsooth, forsooth, ye do foully to smite a King anointed.”

Not long before his death, being demanded why he had so long held the crown of England unjustly, he replied: "My Father was King of England, quietly enjoying the Crown all his reign; and his father, my grandsire, was also King of England; and I, even a child in cradle, was proclaimed and crowned King without any interruption, and so held it for forty years well-near, all the states doing homage unto me as to my Ancestors. Therefore I say with King David, 'My lot is fallen in a fair ground, I have a goodly heritage; my help is from the Lord, which saveth the upright in heart.'" [Idem.]

Thomas Mountacute, Earl of Sarisbury, when he besieged Orleans, and had so enforced it that the inhabitants were willing to articulate, and to yield themselves to the Duke of Burgundy, then being in his company: he highly disdaining it, said in the English Proverb; "I will not beat the bush, and another shall have the birds." Which proverbial speech so offended the Burgundian, that it wholly alienated his mind from the English, to their great loss in all the French wars following. [Aul. Æmil.]

John Lord Talbot, first Earl of Shrewsbury, of that Family, surpris'd on a sudden by the French Army at Chastilion, far from cowardly fear of death, and fatherly affected to his son, the Lord Lysle, who would not forsake him in that danger, advis'd him to fly, saying: "My death, in respect of my former exploits, cannot be but honourable; and in respect of thy youth, neither can it be honourable for thee to dye, nor dishonourable to fly." But this young Lord, in height of courage nothing degenerating from so worthy a Father, lost his life with his father in the field, and with them a base son,

and a son in law of the said Earl's. [Paulus Æmilius, Lib. 10, & Commentarii Pii P. P. 2. Lib. 6.]

After this battel, when the flames of inward war began to flash out in England, the martial men of England were called home out of France, to maintain the factions here: at which time a French captain scoffingly asked an Englishman when they would return again into France. He answered feelingly, and upon a true ground, "When your sins shall be greater and more grievous in the sight of God than ours are now."

¶ Until this time, from the beginning of King Edward the first, which was about an hundred and sixty years, whosoever will with a marking eye consider the comportment of the English Nation, the concurrent of martial men, their Counsels, military discipline, designs, actions, and exploits, not only out of our own Writers, but also foreign Historians, cannot but acknowledge that they were men of especial worth, and their prowess both great and glorious. Why afterward it should decay, as all other professions,—which even like plants have their times of beginning or in-rooting, their growing up, their flourishing, their maturity, and then their fading,—were a disquisition for the learned. Whether it proceedeth from celestial influence, or those Angels which Plato makes, or the *Secundei* which Trithemius imagined to have the regiment of the World successively, or from the degenerating of numbers into summes, which I confess I understand not, being an ignorant in abstruse learning. Only I have read in Paterculus, that when either envy, or admiration, hath given men an edge to ascend to the highest, and when they can ascend no higher, after a while they must naturally descend. Yet I relye upon that of Ecclesiastes, as I understand it:

"Cuncta fecit bona in tempore suo Deus, & mundum tradidit disputatione eorū, ut non inveniatur homo quod operatus est Deus ab initio usque ad finem." But pardon me. I cannot tell how I have been by admiration of our Progenitours diverted from my purpose.

In the year of our Lord 1416, when fifteen hundred English, under the conduct of I. Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, were encompassed between the Sea and fifteen thousand French, the Earl of Arminac, General of the French, sent to the Earl, advising him to yield himself; but he answered, "It is not the manner of the English to yield without blows, neither am I so heartless that I will deliver myself into their Hands, whom God may deliver into mine." And accordingly God gave him the honour of the day, to the great confusion of the enemy. (Walsingham in Ypodigmate.)

When Elizabeth, the widow of Sir John Gray, was a suiter unto King Edward the fourth (against whom her husband lost his life) for her joynture, the kind King became also a suiter to her for a night's lodging: but she wisely answered him, when he became importunate, "That as she did account herself too base to be his wife, so she did think her self too good to be his harlot."

When love grew so hot in this King Edward the fourth, that he would needs marry the said Elizabeth, widdow of sir John Grey, to the great discontent of his Council, but especially of his mother; who, alledging many reasons to the contrary, said that only her widowhood might be sufficient to restrain him, for that it was high disparagement to a King to be dishonoured with bigamy in his first marriage. The King merrily answered: "In that she is a widow, and hath already children; by God's

bleſſed Lady I am a Batcheller, and have ſome too; and ſo each of us hath a proof that neither of us are like to be barren and therefore, Madam, I pray you be content, I truſt in God ſhe ſhall bring you forth a young Prince that ſhall pleaſe you. And as for the bigamy, let the Biſhop hardly lay it in my way when I come to take Orders: for I underſtand it is forbidden to a Prieſt, but I never wiſt it yet that it was forbidden to a Prince."

His hot love nevertheleſs was partable among three other of his Miſtreſſes, of whom he was wont to ſay, "The one was the faireſt; the other was the merrieſt; and the third the holieſt, for ſhe had wholly devoted her ſelf to his Bed and her Bedes."

When Lewis the eleventh (French King) entertained divers Counſellours of King Edward the fourth with large penſions to ſteed him in England, he ſent Peter Cleret, one of the Maſters of his houſehold, unto the Lord Haſtings the King's Chamberlain, to preſent him with two thouſand crowns. Which when he had received, Peter Cleret did pray him, that for his diſcharge he ſhould make him an acquittance: the Lord Chamberlain made a great difficulty thereat. Then Cleret doth requeſt him again that he would give unto him only a letter of three lines for his diſcharge to the King, ſignifying that he had received them: the Lord Chamberlain answered: "Sir, that which you ſay is very reaſonable; but the gift comes from the good will of the King your maſter, and not at my requeſt at all: If it pleaſe you that I ſhall have it, you ſhall put it within the pocket of my ſleeve, and you ſhall have no other acquittance of me. For I will never it ſhall be ſaid of me, that the Lord Chamberlain of the King of England hath been Penſioner to the King of France: Nor that my Acquittances ſhall be found in the

Chamber of accounts in France." The aforesaid Cleret went away male-content, but left his money with him, and came to tell his message to his King, who was very angry with him. But thenceforth the Lord Chamberlain of England was more esteemed with the French, and always paid without acquittance. [Philip de Commines.]

King Richard the third, whose monstrous birth foreshewed his monstrous proceedings, (for he was born with all his teeth, and hair to his shoulders,) albeit he lived wickedly, yet made good Laws, and when divers shires of England offered him a benevolence, he refused it, saying, I know not in what sense, "I had rather have your hearts than your money." [Joannes Rossus Warwicensis.]

John Morton, the Bishop of Elie, but afterward of Canterbury, being solicited by the Duke of Buckingham, then alienated from Richard the third, to speak his mind frankly unto him in matters of State, the Bishop answered him: "In good faith, my Lord, I love not much to talk with Princes, as a thing not all out of Peril, although the words be without fault. Forasmuch as it shall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And ever I think on Æsop's tale, that when the Lyon had proclaimed, that on pain of death there should no horned beast abide in that wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh fled away a great pace. The Fox, that saw him run so fast, asked him whither he made all that hast: he answered, 'In faith I neither wote nor reck, so I were once hence, because of this proclamation made of horned beasts.' 'What, fool,' quoth the Fox, 'thou mayest well enough abide; the Lion meant not by thee, for it is no horn that is upon thy head.' 'No, marry,' quoth he, 'that wote I well enough, but what

and he call it an horn: where am I then? ” [The. More.]

Sir Thomas Rokesby being controll'd for first suffering himself to be served in Treen¹ Cups, answered: “These homely cups and dishes pay truly for what they contain: I had rather drink out of treene, and pay gold and silver, than drink out of gold and silver, and make wooden payment.”

When Richard the third was slain at Bosworth, and with him John Howard Duke of Norfolk, King Henry the seventh demanded of Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, the Duke's son and heir, then taken Prisoner, how he durst bear Arms in the behalf of that tyrant Richard. He answered: “He was my crowned King, and if the Parliamentary authority of England set the Crown upon a stock, I will fight for that stock: And as I fought then for him, I will fight for you, when you are established by the said authority.” And so he did for his son King Henry the eighth at Flodden field. [Anonymus.]

When Margaret, the widow of Charles the Hardy, Duke of Burgundy, and sister to King Edward the fourth, envying much the happy estate and reign of King Henry the seventh, descended of the adverse family of Lancaster, had at sundry times suborned tworascals to counterfeit the persons of her two brothers' sons, thereby to withdraw the hearts of his subjects, and raise uproars in his Realm, the King sent over unto Philip, the Duke of Burgundy, Doctor Warham, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, to inform him of her treachery. This Doctor, in the latter end of his Oration, thus nipped the seditious Dutchess: “That within few years after she was past threescore years of age she had brought forth

¹ *Treen*, wooden, made of “tree.”

too Monsters, Lambert and Peter, & not in the ninth and tenth months, as women naturally, but in the hundred and fourscore month, (for they were both about fifteen years of age when she brought them abroad, as it were, out of her belly :) neither were they Crisomers,¹ but such child-choppers, that as soon as ever they were born, they were able to wage war with a mighty King. [Tho. More.]

The Earl of Kildare being charged before King Henry the seventh for burning the Metropolitan Church of Cassiles in Ireland, and many witnesses procured to avouch the truth of the Article against him, he suddenly confessed it, to the great wondring and detestation of the Council. Then it was looked how he should justify that fact. "By Jesu," quoth he, "I would never have done it, if it had not been told me that the Arch-bishop had been within it." And because the Bishop was one of the busiest accusers present, merrily laughed the King at the plainness of the man, to see him alledge that intent for excuse which most of all did aggravate his fault.

When among many articles exhibited by the Irish against that Earl of Kildare, the last was: Finally, all Ireland cannot rule this Earl. "Then," quoth the King, "shall this Earl rule all Ireland;" and shortly after he made him Deputy thereof.

When one reproved King Henry the seventh for his slowness in making wars on those that wronged him, he answered: "If we Princes should take every occasion that is offered us, the World shall never be quiet, but wearied with continual wars."

¹ *i. e.*, children dying within a month of their birth. See Halliwell, in voc. *Chrisome*.

When a Gentleman, none of the wisest, told King Henry the seventh that he found Sir Richard Croftes, who was made Banneret at the battel of Stoke, to be a very wise man : The King answered, " He doubted not that, but marvelled much how a fool could know a wise man."

It happened that there was fallen in communication of the story of Joseph, how his Master Potipher's wife, a great man with the King of Egypt, would have pulled him to her bed, and he fled away. " Now, Master Maio " (he was the King's Almoner) quoth King Henry the seventh, " you be a tall strong man on the one side, and a cunning Doctor on the other, what would you have done if you had not been Joseph, but in Joseph's stead ? " " By my troth," quoth he, " and it like your Grace, I cannot tell what I would have done, but I can tell you what I should have done." [Tho. More.]

The Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother to King Henry the seventh, a most worthy Patroness of good Letters, would often say, " On the condition that Princes of Christendom would combine themselves, and march against the common enemy the Turk, she would most willingly attend them, and be their Laundress in the camp."

There was a poor blind man in Warwickshire, that was accounted very cunning in prognosticating of weather. Upon a day Empson, a great lawyer, as he rode that way, said, in scorn of his cunning, I pray you tell me, father, when doth the Sun change? The chafed old man, that knew his corrupt conscience, answered : " When such a wicked lawyer as you goeth to Heaven."

Doctor Collet, the Dean of Pauls, said that if the Clergy were nought, the Laity were worse, for it could not otherwise be, but the lay-men must ever

be one degree under the Clergy : for surely it can be no lye that our Saviour saith himself, who saith of the Clergy, that they be the salt of the Earth, and if the salt once appall, the World must needs wax unfavoury ; and he saith that the Clergy be the light of the world ; and then, saith he, if the light be darkened, how dark will then that darknes be? that is to wit, all the World beside, whereof he calleth the Clergy only the light.

Cardinal Wolfey, his teeth watering at the rich Bishoprick of Winchester, sent one unto Bishop Fox (who had advanced him to the King's service) for to move him to resign the Bishoprick, because extream age had made him blind : the which message and motion Fox did take in so ill part, that he willed the messenger to tell the Cardinal thus from him : " That although old age bereaving me of sight I know not white from black, yet I can discern truth from falsehood, and right from wrong : yea, and that now I am blind, I have espied his malicious unthankfulness : the which I could never before perceive when my eye-sight was at the best, and let my Lord Cardinal take heed, that his ambition and covetousness bring him not into a worse blindness than I have, and make him fall before he fear."

At Sir Thomas More his first coming to the service of King Henry the eighth, the King gave him this godly lesson : " First look unto God, and then after unto me."

He would also wish (as I have heard of an ancient man of that age) that his Counsellours would commit simulation, dissimulation, and partiality to the Porter's lodge, when they came to sit in Council.

The same King Henry, finding fault with the disagreement of Preachers, would often say, " Some are too stiff in their old *Mumpsimus*, and other too

busie and curious in their new *Sumpſimus* ;" haply borrowing theſe phraſes from that which Maſter Pace his Secretary reporteth in his book *de fructu Doctrinæ*, of an old Prieſt in that age, which always read in his Portals, *Mumpſimus Domine* for *Sumpſimus*: whereof when he was admoniſhed, he ſaid that he now had uſed Mumpſimus thirty years, and would not leave his old Mumpſimus for their new Sumpſimus.

A Noble man of this time, in contempt of learning ſaid, that it was for Noble men's ſons enough to wind their horn, and carry their hawk fair, and to leave ſtudy and learning to the children of mean men. To whom the foreſaid Richard Pace replied: "Then you and other Noble men muſt be content that your children may wind their horns and keep their Hawks, while the children of mean men do manage matters of eſtate." [R. P. de fructu doct.]

John Fiſher, Biſhop of Rocheſter, when the King would have tranſlated him from that poor Biſhoprick to a better, he reſuſed, ſaying, "He would not forſake his poor little old wife, with whom he had ſo long lived." Happily thinking of the fifteenth Canon of the Nicene Council, and that of the Canoniſts, *Matrimonium inter Episcopum, & Eccleſiam eſſe contractum*, &c.

There was a Noble man merrily conceited, and riotouſly given, that having lately ſold a Mannor of an hundred tenements, came ruſſling into the Court, in a new ſuit, ſaying, "Am not I a mighty man, that bear an hundred houſes on my back?" Which Cardinal Woolſey hearing, ſaid, "You might have better employed it in paying your debts." "Indeed, my Lord," quoth he, "you ſay well; for my Lord my father owed my maſter your father, three half-pence for a Calſ head; hold, here is two pence for it." As Skelton jeſted at the Cardinal, that he was deſcended of

Sanguilier, he was cast out of a Butcher's stall, for his father was a Butcher of Ipswich.

When Stephen Gardiner was advanced unto the Bishoprick of Winchester, and sent over as Ambassadour into France with great pomp, he said unto an old acquaintance of his that came to take his leave of him, "Now I am in my *Gloria Patri*." "Yea," said his friend, "and I hope, *Et nunc & semper*." "Or," replied the Bishop, "if it please the King my master, *Sicut erat in principio*, A poor Scholar of Cambridge again."

When Sir Thomas More was speaker of the Parliament, with his wisdom and eloquence, he so crossed a purpose of Cardinal Wolsey's, that the Cardinal in a chafe sent for him to White-hall; where, when he had danced attendance long, at length the Cardinal coming out, said in the presence of many, "Master More, I would you had been at Rome, when you were made Speaker of the Parliament-house." He immediately replied, "And if it please your Grace, so would I, for then I should have seen a famous City, whereof I have heard much, and read much, and never saw it." [*Vita Tho. Mori impressa.*]

The same Cardinal, at a full Council Table, when Sir Tho. More was first made privy Counsellor, moved that there might be a Lieutenant-General of the Realm, chosen for certain considerations; and the body of the Council inclined thereunto. Sir Thomas More opposed himself. Whereupon the Cardinal in a chafe said: "Are you not ashamed, who are the meanest man here, to dissent from so many honourable and wise Personages: you prove your self a plain fool." Whereunto Master Moor forthwith answered: "Thanks be to God that the King's Majesty hath but one fool in his right honourable Council." [*Idem.*]

When he was Lord Chancellour, he enjoyned a Gentleman to pay a good round sum of money unto a poor Widow whom he had oppressed; and the Gentleman said: "Then I do hope your Lordship will give me a good long day to pay it." "You shall have your request," said Sir Thomas; "Munday next is St. Barnabas day, the longest day in all the year, pay her me then, or else you shall kiss the Fleet."

When he had no lust to grow greatly upward in the world, neither would labour for office of authority, and over that, forsook a right worshipful Room when it was offered him, his Wife fell in hand with him, and asked him, "What will you do, list you not to put forth your self as others do? Will you sit still by the fire, and make Goslings in the Ashes with a stick, as Children do? Would God I were a man, and you should quickly see what I would do. What? By God, go forward with the best; for as my Mother was wont to say, It is evermore better to rule than to be ruled; and therefore I warrant you, I would not be so foolish to be ruled where I might rule." "By my truth, Wife," quoth he, "I dare say you say truth, for I never found you willing to be ruled yet."

He used, when he was Lord Chancellour, upon every Sunday, when he was at home, to sit in the Quire in his Surplice, and sing the Service: and being one day espied in that attire by the Duke of Norfolk, the Duke began to chafe, crying, "Fie, fie, my Lord, the Lord Chancellour of England a Parish Priest, and a paltry singing man! You dishonour the King, you dishonour the King." "No, my Lord," quoth Sir Thomas, "it is no shame for the King, if his servant serve his Sovereign and Saviour, who is the King of Kings."

During the time of his chancellourship of Eng-

land, he used to send his Gentleman-Usher to his Wives Pew, after Divine Service was done, to tell her that he was gone ; but the next Sunday after he gave up his Chancellourship of England, he came himself to her Pew, and used the usual words of his Gentleman-Usher, "Madam, my Lord is gone."

His latter Wife was a Widdow, of whom Erasmus writeth, that he was wont to say, that she was *nec bella, nec puella* ; who, as she was a good Huswife, so was she not voyd of the fault that often followeth that vertue, somewhat shrewd to her servants. Upon a time Sir Thomas found fault with her continual chiding, saying, "If that nothing else would reclaim her, yet the consideration of the time (for it was Lent) should restrain her." "Tush, tush, my Lord," said she, "look, here is one step to Heaven-ward," shewing him a Friar's girdle. "I fear me," quoth Sir Thomas Moor, "this one step will not bring you up a step higher."

One day when she came from shrift, she said merrily unto him, "Be merry," Sir Thomas, "for this day was I well shriven, I thank God, and purpose now therefore to leave off my old shrewdness." "Yea," quoth he, "and to begin afresh."

When he was sent Prisoner unto the Tower, and the Lieutenant, his old Friend, received him with a heavy chear, he said : "Is this the entertainment and good countenance you give your Guests when they come to you ? Why look, man, here are twenty angel nobles (shewing him his purse) and when this is spent, turn me out at doors, as a bare gamester, and not able to pay for that he takes." Hitherto may be referred his silent answer, when at his entring into the Tower, one of the Officers claimed for a Fee his upper Garment (meaning his Gown or his Cloak) he offered him his Cap.

Being asked after his condemnation, and before his execution, whether he had changed his minde, he said: "Yea, for I thought to have been shaven, but now seeing I shall die so shortly, I will let my beard grow."

His Daughter Roper oneday, as she repaired unto him into the Tower, counselled him to recover the King's favour, and his own former liberty, by doing I know not what, the which she said one of the greatest States of this Realm, and a man learned too, and his tender Friend, said he might do, without scruple of conscience, as most of the Nobility of the Realm had done, not one sticking thereat, save only himself and one other man. This Speech of her he answered with a pleasant Tale. "At a Bartholomew Fair at London, there was an Escheator of the same City that had arrested a Clothier that was outlawed, and had seized his Goods, which he had brought into the Fair, tolling him out of the Fair by a train. The man that was arrested was a Northern man, which by his Friends made the Escheator to be arrested within the Fair, upon an Action I wot not near what; and called a Court of Pipowders. Now had the Clothier, by friendship of the Officers, found the means to have all the Quest almost made of the Northern men, such as had their Booths standing in the Fair, who were no sooner departed from the Bar, and come into the House, but the Northern men were agreed, and in effect all the other, to cast our London Escheator. They thought they needed no more to prove that he did wrong, than even the name of his bare Office alone. But then was there amongst them, as the Devil would, an honest man of another Quarter called Company. And the fellow seemed but a silly fowl, and fate still, and said nothing; they made no reckoning of him, but said, 'We be agreed now,

come let us go and give up our verdict.' Then when the poor fellow saw that they made such haste, and his mind nothing gave him that way that theirs did (if that their minds gave them that way,) they said, he prayed them to tarry and talk upon the matter, and tell such reason therein, that he might think as they did, and when they should so do, he would be glad to say with them: or else, he said, they must pardon him: For sith he had a soul of his own to keep, as they had, he must say as he thought for his soul, as they must for theirs. When they heard this they were half angry with him. 'What, good fellow,' quoth one of the Northern men, 'where wannes thou?'¹ Be not we eleven here, and thou but one all alone, and all we agreed, whereto shouldst thou stick? What's thy name, good fellow?' 'Masters,' quoth he, 'my name is called Company.' 'Company,' quoth they, 'now, by my troth, good fellow, play then the good companion, come thereon forth with us, and pass even for good company.' 'Would God, good Masters,' quoth the man again, 'that there lay no more weight thereon. But now, when we shall hence, and come before God, and that he shall send you unto Heaven for doing according unto your conscience, and me unto the Devil for doing against mine, all passing at your request here for good company now. By God, Master Dickenson,' that was one of the Northern men's names, 'if I then shall say unto you all again, Masters, I went once with you for good company, which is the cause that I go now to Hell, play you the good fellows now again with me; as I went then for good company with you, so some of you go now for good company with me: would you go, Master Dicken-

¹ Where dwellest thou?

son? Nay, nay, by our Lady, nor ever a one of you all. And therefore must you pardon me for passing as you pass; for the passage of my poor soul passeth all good company.’”

In the like sence he used often to say, “That he would never pin his soul at another man’s back, not even the best man that he knew that day living, for he knew not whither he might hap to carry it.”

When one came to him to signifie that he must prepare himself to die, for he could not live, he called for his Urinal, wherein when he had made water, he cast it, and viewed it (as Physicians use), at last he said soberly, “That he saw nothing in that water, but that he might live, if it pleased the King.”

When he was in prison, and his books and papers taken from him, he did shut his Chamber windows both day and night, saying: “When the wares are gone, and the tools are taken away, we must shut up shop.”

When he went to death, a certain woman offered him a cup of wine, which he refusing, said: “Good woman, Christ in his passion drunk gall, and no wine.”

When he was to mount the Scaffold, he said to one of the Sheriffs men, “I pray thee help me up: as for coming down, I take no care.”

When the Hangman (according to his manner) desired him to pardon him his death, he answered: “I do forgive thee with all my heart; but one thing I will tell thee, thou wilt never have honesty in cutting off my head, my neck is so short.”

Now we have done with Sir Thomas Moor his own Apothegms which have come to my hands, I will transcribe out of his Works a few Tales, or call them what you please.

“A poor man found a Priest over-familiar with

his Wife, and because he spake it abroad, and could not prove it, his Priest sued him before the Bishop's Official for Defamation, where the poor man, in pain of cursing, was commanded, that in the Parish Church he should upon the Sunday, at high Mass, stand up and say, 'Mouth, thou liest : ' whereupon, for fulfilling of his penance, up was the poor soul set in a Pew, that the people might wonder at him and hear what he said ; and there all aloud, when he had rehearsed what he had reported by the Priest, then he set his hands on his mouth, and said, 'Mouth, thou liest : ' and by and by thereupon, he set his hands upon both his eyes, and said : ' But eyne,' quoth he, ' by the Mass ye lie not awhit.' "

When Sir Thomas Moor had told one (whom he termeth in his Dialogue the Messenger) how he might yearly have seen a miracle done at the Rhodes, if he would have gone thither. " So far ? " quoth the Messenger. " Nay, I had rather have God's blessing to believe that I see not, than to go so far for it. " " I am well apaid, ' said Sir Thomas, " thereof, for if you had rather believe, than take the pain of a long Pilgrimage, you will never be so stiffe in any opinion that you will put your self in jeopardy for pertinacy and stubborn standing by your part. " " Nay, marry, " said the Messenger, " I warrant you that I will never be so mad to hold till it wax too hot, for I have such a fond fantasie of mine own, that I had rather shiver and shake for cold in the Summer than be burned in the middest of Winter. "

" It happened that a young Priest very devoutly in a Proceffion bare a Candle before the Crofs for lying with a Wench, and bare it light all the long way, wherein the people took such spiritual pleasure and inward solace that they laughed apace. And one merry Merchant said unto the Priests that followed

him, '*Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus.* Thus let your light shine before the people.' But a lewd Priest in latter time, being reprov'd of his loose life, and told that he and other of the Clergy ought to be the Lanterns of light, 'How can we,' said the shameless Priest, 'be Lanterns of Light, when as ye Lay men have all the horns?'

"When a lusty gallant saw a Fryar going bare-foot in a great Frost and Snow, he asked him why he did take such pain. He answered, that it was very little pain, if a man would remember Hell. 'Yea, Fryar,' quoth the Gallant, 'but what and if there be no Hell? Then art thou a great fool.' 'Yea, Master,' quoth the Fryar, 'but what if there be Hell, then is your Mastership much more fool.'

"A Fryar, as he was preaching in the Country, espied a poor Wife of the Parish whispering with her Pew-fellow, and he falling angry thereat, cryed out unto her aloud, 'Hold thy babble, I bid thee, thou Wife in the red hood;' which when the Huf-wife heard, she waxed as angry, and suddainly she started up, and cryed unto the Fryar again, that all the Church rang thereon: 'Marry, Sir, I beshrew his heart that babbleth most of us both; for I do but whisper a word with my Neighbour here, and thou hast babbled there a good large hour.'

"King Ladislaus used much this manner among his servants, when one of them praised any deed of his, or any condition in him, if he perceived that they said nothing but the truth, he would let it pass by uncontrolled. But when he saw that they did set a gloss upon it for his praise, of their own making, beside, then would he shortly say unto them, 'I pray thee, good fellow, when thou sayest Grace, never bring in *Gloria patri*, without a *Sicut erat*. Any act that ever I did, if thou report it again to mine honour

with a *Gloria patri*, never report it but with a *Sicut erat*. That is to wit, even as it was, and no other-wise, and lift not me up with lies, for I love it not.'

"Fryar Donalde preached at Paul's Crofs that our Lady was a Virgin, and yet at her Pilgrimages, there was made many a foul meeting, and loud cried out, 'Ye men of London, gang on your selves with your Wives to Wilsdon, in the Devil's name, or else keep them at home with you, with a forrow.'"

Sir John Moor was wont to compare the choofing of a Wife unto a casual taking out, at all a very ventures, Eeles out of a bag, wherein were twenty Snakes for an Eele.

Sir John Fineux, sometime Chief Justice of the King's Bench, was often heard to say, "Who so taketh from a Justice the order of his discretion, taketh surely from him more than half his Office."

Wife was that saying of Doctour Medcalf, "You young men do think us old men to be fools; but we old men do know that you young men are fools."

Katherine, Wife to Charles Branden, Duke of Suffolk, when her Husband, at a Feast, willed every Lady to take to sit by her him that she loved best, provided he were not her Husband, she took Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, saying: "Seeing she might not have him whom she loved best, she would take him whom she loved worst."

King Edward the Sixth, when three swords were delivered at his Coronation unto him, as King of England, France, and Ireland, said, There was yet another sword to be delivered unto him. Whereat, when the Lords marvelled, he said: "I mean," said he, "the sacred Bible, which is the sword of the Spirit, without which we are nothing, neither can do any thing." [Balæus in Centuriis.]

When Sir Ralph Fane was condemned to die by

the practice of the Duke of Northumberland, he said no more, protesting his innocency, but, "My blood shall be the Duke's bolster, as long as he liveth;" meaning, as I think, that his conscience, affrighted with shedding innocent blood, should enjoy little quiet, but pass restless nights. [*Relatio Gallica.*]

Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, when he was Ambassadour at Rome, one of his men negligently laying down his Livery Cloak in his Lodging, lost it; wherewith the Bishop, being angry, rated the fellow roughly, who told him that he suspected nothing in so Holy a Place as Rome was, but did take them all for true men. "What, Knave," quoth the Bishop, "when thou comest into a strange place, think all men there to be Thieves, yet take heed thou do not call them Thieves."

When he was prisoner in the Tower, he was searched by the Lieutenant, and five hundred French Crowns found in his purse and in his doublet about him: whereat, when the Lieutenant wondring asked him what he meant to carry so much money about him, he answered, "I love to have my friends still near about me, and cannot tell how I should be used, if I lacked them."

In the Rebellion in the West, during the Reign of King Edward the Sixth, Sir Anthony Kingston, Marshal of the Field, hanged up a fellow that was servant to a rebellious Miller, whom he affirmed himself to be, until he came unto the Gallows, and then his denial would not be allowed. Afterward the matter being better known, Sir Anthony was told that he had executed the Man for the Master. "It is well enough," quoth Sir Anthony, "he could never have done his master better service than have hanged for him."

These following are taken out of the life of Car-

dinal Poole,¹ Archbishop of Canterbury, written by a Learned man, and Printed at Venice.

When one asked Counſel of Cardinal Poole, what method and way was beſt to be taken to underſtand the obſcure places in Saint Paul's Epiſtles, he answered him, he thought the beſt and ſhorteſt way was, to read firſt the latter part of thoſe Epiſtles, which do intreat of Chriſtian manners, and underſtand it, and expreſs it in life and good manners, and then to go unto the firſt part, where the matters of Faith are ſubtilly and exactly handled, ſaying, "That God will give his ſpirit of underſtanding ſooneſt unto thoſe that with all their whole hearts ſeek to ſerve him."

He was wont to ſay, "That he and all other Biſhops ought to conſider that they were ordained, not only Judges over thoſe of their Dioceſſes, but Father Judges."

In communication, when mention hapned to be made of a certain Biſhop, who was wont to blame the Biſhops that lived at Rome who neglected their charge, and yet he himſelf was reſident at Rome, "He," quoth Poole, "doth like unto thoſe that cannot abide the ſmell of Garlick; for if they have to do with them that have eaten Garlick, they eat ſome too themſelves, that they may not perceive their ſtinking breaths."

Speech was heard of a young man that was learned indeed, but too bold, and ready to cenſure: "Learning," quoth Poole, "doth work almoſt that in young men that Wine doth in the Fat; there it worketh, there it boyleth up, and ſwelleth; but as ſoon as it is purged, and put in the Veſſel, having gathered his forces together, it is quiet and ſtill."

¹ Pole.

When one very skilful in Astrology told him that he had very exactly calculated his Nativity, and found that great matters were portended of him, Poole answered, "Perhaps it may be as you affirm; but you must remember that I was born again by Baptism, and that day of Nativity wherein I was born again doth eclipse the other before."

When one had said that we must be so wholly busied in the study of the Scriptures that no time should be left for other studies, and another man had added that the studies of other Learning were to be used as waiting-maids and Bond-women, "What, do you not know," quoth Poole, "that Agar was cast out of the doors because she was a Bond-woman?"

When Sadolet adhorted him unto the study of Philosophy, giving to it the price above all other studies, Poole answered him, "While all the world was overwhelmed with the darkness of Paganism, it did excel all other Arts; but since that thick mist was chased away, by the bright beams of the preaching of Christ and his Apostles, and their Successors, the study of the sacred Scriptures and Divinity had gotten the palm and chief praise;" adding, that "Philosophy was now as Tenedos, of whom Virgil writes:

"Notissima fama

Insula, dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant;
Nunc tantum sinus & statio malefida carinis."

"A famous Isle of Riches, while Priamus Kingdom stood;
Now nothing but a baggage bay, and harbour nothing good."

He used friendly to admonish a certain Bishop, not to forsake his sheep, but rather leaving Rome to repair home and execute his Office. This Bishop upon a time came unto him, and told him that he was minded to go out of the City, for one Month

and to visit his sheep, and therefore he did desire that he might depart with his good leave and liking: Poole answered, "I shall take this comfort by your departure, that you shall be beaten the less."

When Letters were shewed unto him very artificially penned, which one had sent unto a great man, to comfort him for the death of his Friends, and to that intent had used all the places of Rhetorick, he read them, and then said, "That he never in all his life had ever read Letters, that could bring greater comfort; for they were such, that no man that should read them, could be able to keep himself from laughing."

Having heard a certain Preacher of great name, who arrogated much to himself, and did passingly please himself; he was asked what he thought of the man. Poole answered: "Well, but I would that he would first preach unto himself, and then afterward to others."

When a Nobleman of Rome told him, that he did trust that he should come to his pleasant Gardens, which he had sumptuously made, yea thirty years after, and wondred at the beauty of them, Poole answered, "I hope I have not deserved so ill of you, that you should wish me so long a banishment from my heavenly Country."

While he was in the Low Countries, and one day would have gone unto Charles the Emperour, but he could not be admitted to his Speech; but two dayes after the Bishop of Arras was sent unto him by the Emperour, to excuse his long stay, and desire him to come unto him, Poole said, that he had strange hap, "That whereas he spake dayly unto God for the Emperour, yet he was not admitted unto the Emperour to talk with him about a matter belonging to God."

There was one that was very curious in keeping of his beard, and it was reported that he bestowed every month two duckats upon the trimming of it. "If it be so," said Pool, "his beard will shortly be more worth than his head."

After the death of Paulus Tertius, when many Cardinals came unto him, and told him, that if he liked of it, they would make him Pope, "He desired them to look well to it, that they were swayed by no passion of the mind, or did ought for favour, and good will, but refer all their cogitations wholly unto the honour of God, and the profit of his Church; and which only they all ought especially to have always before their eyes."

When one of the Cardinals of the adverse Faction did one day charge him with ambition, and said that he did untimely and over-hastily seek the Popedome, he answered gravely, "That he thought not the burden of that great Office to be so light, but that he was of the mind, that it was rather to be feared, than desired. As for them which understood not, and thought more basely of so great a place, he lamented their case, and was sorry for them."

When the Cardinal Farnes, and divers others of his Friends came unto him, at midnight, to make him Pope by adoration, he repelled them, saying, "He would not have so weighty a matter tumultuously and rashly done, but usually and orderly; that the night was no convenient time therefore, that God loved the light more than darknes, wherefore they should defer it until the next day, and that then, if it pleased God, it might very well be done." But this his pious modesty lost him the Papacy.

He used often to say, "Those which would betake them unto the study of the holy Scriptures (which was as though they would go into the inner

and secret part of the Temple) must pass through a low and narrow door: For that no man can attain to the understanding of the Scriptures, that is proud and puffed up with the sharpness of his wit, or excellency of humane learning; but he that bringeth lowliness of mind, and contempt of himself, and yields his understanding (as the Apostle saith) captive unto faith."

Of this also did he often admonish those that would study the sacred Scriptures, "That they should specially beware that they never went to the reading of them with this intent and mind, that they might dispute of them to shew their learning, and by that knowledge to get them honours and riches; for both purposes were very contrary to this kind of study. Whereunto ought to be adhibited, first fervent prayers, then a lowly mind, and finally an heart void of all ambition and greedy desire." Thus far of this good Cardinal.

William, Marquess of Winchester, being asked how he continued of the Council in the troublesome times of divers Princes, answered: "By being a Willow, and not an Oak." He would also often say that he found great ease in this: "That I never sought to rule the roost, and to be the directour of others, but always suffered my self to be swayed with the most and mightiest." As another Courtier of former times said, he had born off many court-storms in dangerous times "By suffering injuries, and giving thanks for them."

A lusty gallant that had wasted much of his patrimony, seeing Master Dutton, a Gentleman, in a Gown not of the newest cut, told him that he had thought it had been his great-grandfather's gown: "It is so," said Master Dutton, "and I have also my great-grandfather's lands, and so have not you."

A reverend man, my first teacher, would often say in the midst of his mirth, "Sorrow is good for nothing, save sin only."

Now we draw to an end, have a few sayings of merry M. Heywood, the first Epigrammatist. When Queen Mary told this Heywood that the Priests must forgo their wives, he merrily answered, "Your Grace must allow them Lemons then, for the Clergy cannot live without fawce."

He being asked of the said Queen Mary, what wind blew him to the Court, answered her, "Two specially the one to see your Majesty"—"We thank you for that," said Queen Mary; "but I pray you, what is the other?" "That your Grace," said he, "might see me."

When one told him that Pace, being a Master of Art, had disgraced himself with wearing a fool's Coat, he answered, "It is less hurtful to the common-weal, when wise men go in fools Coats, than when fools go in wise men's gowns."

When he saw one riding that bare a wanton behind him, he said, "In good faith, Sir, I would say that your horse were over-loaden, if I did not perceive the gentlewoman you carry were very light."

When a man of worship, whose beer was better hopped than maulted, asked him at his table how he liked of his Beer, and whether it were well hopped, "Yes, by the faith of my body," said he, "it is very well hopped; but if it had hopped a little further, it had hopped into the water."

When one said, that the number of Lawyers would marr the occupation, he answered, "No, for always the more Spaniels in the field, the more game."

This usual speech of Sir Thomas More, both of himself and other Book-breeders, which is also ex-

tant in an Epistle of his, I have resolved to close up this part: "Book-makers are full wise folk, who pain and pine themselves away by writing, to subject themselves to the censure of such, which in Ordinaries and in Ale-benches will pill and pull them by their words, phrases, and lines, as it were by the beards; when some of them are so pill'd themselves, as that they have not one hair of honesty;" or to use his own words, "*Ne pilum boni hominis.*" But these he resembleth to those unmannerly guests "which, when they have been well and kindly entertained, flinch away never giving thanks, but depraving and dispraising their courteous entertainment."

Whereas proverbs are concise, witty and wise speeches, grounded upon long experience, containing for the most part good caveats, and therefore both profitable and delightful, I thought it not unfit to set down here Alphabetically some of the selectest and most usual amongst us, as being worthy to have place amongst the wisest speeches.



CERTAIN PROVERBS,¹ POEMS OR POESIES, EPI-
GRAMS, RYTHMS AND EPITAPHS OF THE
ENGLISH NATION IN FORMER TIMES,
AND SOME OF THIS PRESENT AGE.

A.



BOW long bent at last waxeth weak.
A high building a low foundation.
A broken sleeve holdeth the arm back.
A Cat may look upon a King.
A Carron Kyte will never be a good Hawk.
A close mouth catches no flies.
As good lost as found.
A curr will bite before he bark.
A dog hath a day.
A friend will help at a dead lift.
A dog will bark ere he bite.
Agree, for the Law is costly.
A fool's bolt is soon shot.
A fool and his money is soon parted.
After meat mustard.
A friend is not so soon gotten as lost.
A friend in Court is worth a penny in purse.
A friend is never known till a man have need.
A good man can no more harm than a sheep.

¹ Camden has been aptly styled by Bishop Nicholson, "The common sun whereat our modern writers have all lighted their little torches." Scarcely any subject in these "Remains" had ever been previously so fully—certainly never so ably—handled. The present collection of English Proverbs, is, so far as I know, the first ever made, and John Ray's celebrated work was doubtless suggested by it.

A good tale ill told, in the telling is marred.
 A good Jack maketh a good Gill.
 A good neighbour, a good morrow.
 A grunting horſe and a groaning wife never fails
 their Maſter.
 Age and wedlock tames man and beaſt.
 All is well that ends well.
 A hard beginning hath a good ending.
 A hard fought field where no man ſcapeth unkil'd.
 A haſty man never wants woe.
 A honey tongue a heart of gall.
 All is not gold that glisters.
 A leg of a lark is better than the body of a kyte.
 A little pot is ſoon hot.
 A ſhrew profitable, may ſerve a man reaſonable.
 As long liveth a merry man as a ſad.
 As the old cock croweth, ſo the young followeth.
 A long harveſt of a little corn.
 A low hedg is eaſily leaped over.
 A man is not ſo ſoon healed as hurt.
 A man far from his good is nigh his harm.
 A man may buy gold too dear.
 A curſt dog muſt be tied ſhort.
 A flye hath a ſpleen.
 A man may love his houſe well though he ride not
 on the ridg.
 A man will not loſe a hog for a half pennyworth of
 tar.
 A man will be a man though he hath but a hoſe on
 his head.
 As welcome as water into a ſhip.
 A muzzled Cat was never a good mouſer.
 A light burden far heavy.
 An old ape hath an old eye.
 A proud mind and a beggar's purſe goeth together.
 A rouling ſtone gathers no moſs.

A young Serving-man, an old beggar.
A word enough to the wife.
A young Saint, an old divel.
All is well that ends well.
A man may well bring a horse to the water, but he
cannot make him drink without he will.
An ill weed grows apace.
An old Cat laps as much milk as a young.
A mouse in time may bite in two a cable.
A piece of a Kid is worth two of a cat.
A penniworth of ease is worth a penny in a man's
purse.
A poor dog that is not worth the whistling.
As proud comes behind as goes before.
A proud horse that will not bear his own provender.
A pound of care will not pay an ounce of debt.
A scald head is soon broken.
A false knave needs no broker.
A scald horse is good enough for a scab'd Squire.
A short horse is soon curried.
A swine over-fat is cause of his own bane.
A traveller may lye with authority.
A wonder lasteth but nine days.
After black clouds clear weather.
After a storm comes a calm.
All is fish that comes to net.
After dinner sit a while, after supper walk a mile.
All covet, all lose.
As fit as a pudding for a Friars mouth.
All shall be well, and Jack shall have Gill.
All is well that ends well.
An ill cook cannot lick his own fingers.
An inch breaketh no square.
An inch in a mis is as good as an ell.
An old dog biteth fore.
An old sack asketh much patching.

An unbidden guest knoweth not where to sit.
 As a man is friended so the law is ended.
 As deep drinketh the goose as the gander.
 As good to play for nought as work for nought.
 Ask my companion whether I be a thief.
 As I brew, so must I needs drink.
 A white wall is a fool's paper.
 As good sit still as rise up and fall.
 As soon goeth the young Lamb-skin to the market,
 as the old Ewes.
 All the proof of a pudding is in the eating.

B.

Batchelors wives and maids' children bewell taught.
 Backare, quoth Mortimer unto his Sow.
 Bate me an ace of that, quoth Bolton.
 Be it better be it worfe, do you after him that
 beareth the purse.
 The black Oxe hath not trod on his foot.
 Bare walls make giddy houswives.
 Better fill a glutton's belly than his eye.
 Beggars should be no chusers.
 Believe well and have well.
 Better be envied than pitied.
 Better children weep than old men.
 Better aye out than always ach.
 Better fed than taught.
 Be as be may is no banning.
 Better half a loaf than no bread.
 Better late than never.
 Better leave than lack.
 Better one bird in the hand than ten in the wood.
 Better sit still than rise and fall.
 Better a louse in the pot than no flesh at all.
 Better spare at brim than at bottom.
 Better to be happy than wife.

Better coming to the latter end of a feast than the
beginning of a fray.
Better to bow than break.
Better to rule than be ruled by the rout.
Better unborn than untaught.
Better be an old man's darling, than a young man's
warling.
Better a bad excuse than none at all.
Between two fools the tail goeth to the ground.
Beware of had I wist.
Beware the geese when the Fox preaches.
Birds of a feather will flock together.
Black will take no other hew.
Brag's a good dog.
Blind men should judge no colours.
Bought wit is best.
By wisdom peace, by peace plenty.
Burnt child fire dreads.
By scratching and biting cats and dogs come to-
gether.

C.

Cat after kind.
Cunning is no burden.
Change of Women makes bald knaves.
Change of pasture maketh fat calves.
Children and fools cannot lye.
Children and chickens are always feeding.
Children learn to creep ere they can go.
Christmases cometh but once a year.
Claw a churl by the arse, and he shiteth in thy
hand.
Close sitteth my shirt, but closer my skin.
Cloudy mornings turn to clear evenings.
Cut your coat after your cloth.
Curst Cows have short horns.
Courting and wooing bring dallying and doing.

Can Jack an Ape be merry when his clog is at his heel?

D.

Dear bought and far fet are dainties for Ladies.
Dinners cannot be long where dainties want.
Do well, and have well.
Draff was his errand, but drink he would.
Dogs barking aloof bite not at hand.

E.

Enough is as good as a feast.
Eaten bread is forgot.
Early pricks that will be a thorn.
Ever drunk, ever dry.
Even reckoning maketh long friends.
Every Cock is proud on his own dunghil.
Every man as he loveth, quoth the good man when
he kist his Cow.
Effex stiles, Kentish miles, Norfolk wiles, many
men beguiles.
Every man basteth the fat hog.
Every man cannot hit the nail on the head.
Every man can rule a shrew save he that hath her.
Every man for himself, and God for us all.
Every one after his fashion.
Ever spare, and ever bare.
Evil gotten goods never proveth well.
Evil gotten, evil spent.
Evil will never said well.
Every thing helps, quoth the Wren when she pift
in the Sea.

F.

Faint heart never won fair lady.
Fare and softly goes far.
Few Lawyers dye well.

Y

Few Physicians live well.
Fast bind, fast find.
Fair words make fools fain.
Fair words hurt not the mouth.
Few words to the wise suffice.
Fish is cast away that is cast into dry pools.
First come, first served.
First deserve, and then desire.
Folly it is to spurn against a prick.
Foul water as soon as fair will quench hot fire.
Foul in the cradle, proveth fair in the saddle.
Fools with fair words are pleased.
Frost and fraud have always foul ends.
Friends fail flyers.
Forfake not the market for the toll.
Fools set stools for wise folks to stumble at.
Fools lade the water, and wise men catch the fish.

G.

Give an inch, and you will take an ell.
Give a dog roast, and beat him with the spit.
God never sendeth mouth but he sendeth meat.
God sendeth cold after cloaths.
God sendeth fortune to fools.
God sends meat, the devil sends Cooks.
Good wine needs no Bush.
God sendeth the shrewd cow short horns.
Good words cost nought.
Goes much water by the Mill, the Miller know
not.
Good riding at two ankers, men have told ; for if
the one fail, the other may hold.
Give gave is a good fellow.
Good to be merry and wise.
Great boast small roft.
Great barkers are no biters.

H

He that will live in peace and rest, must hear and see, and say the best.

Half a loaf is better than no bread at all

Half warm'd, half arm'd.

Happy man be his dole.

Haft maketh waft.

He can ill pipe that lacketh his upper lip.

Hang the bell about the Cat's neck.

He dances well to whom fortune pipes.

He mends as sowre Ale mends in Summer.

He that will have a Hare to breakfast must hunt over night.

He that hath time, and looks for time, looseth time.

He that is affraid of every grafs must not pifs in a meadow.

He that hopes for dead men's shoes may go long barefoot.

He spent Michaelmas Rent in Midsummer Moon.

He knows on which side his bread is buttered.

Hold with the Hare and run with the Hound.

Hungry dogs will eat dirty puddings.

He loseth the market for the toll.

Hunger breaks stone walls.

He that kisses his wife in the market-place shall have many teachers.

He will play at small game before he will sit out.

He that goes to sleep with dogs must rise with fleas.

He that is man'd with boys, and horst with colts, shall have his meat eaten and his work undone.

He loveth well sheep's flesh that wetteth his bread in the wool.

He laugheth that winneth.

He may ill run that cannot go.

He must needs go that the devil drives.

He must needs swim that is held up by the chin.
He runneth far that never turneth again.
He that cometh last makes all fast.
He that cometh last to the pot, soonest wroth.
He that hath an ill name is half hanged.
He that hath plenty of good shall have more.
He that goeth a borrowing, goeth a sorrowing.
He that reckons without his Host must reckon twice.
He that hath but little, he shall have less, and he that hath right nought, right nought shall possess.
He that is born to be hanged, shall never be drowned.
He that killeth a man when he is drunk, shall be hanged when he is sober.
He hath need of a long spoon that eateth with the devil.
He that striketh with the sword shall be beaten with the Scabbard.
He that buys a house ready wrought, hath many a pin and nail for nought.
He that will not when he may, when he would he shall have nay.
He that worst may must hold the candle.
He that winketh with one eye, and looketh with the other, I will not trust him though he were my brother.
He that plays more than he sees, forfeits his eyes to the King.
He that mischief hatcheth, mischief catcheth.
He that makes himself a sheep, the wolf will catch him.
He is proper that hath proper conditions.
Hold fast when you have it.
Honours should change manners.
Home is homely.
Hope well, and have well.

Hot love is soon cold.
 He that will not be ruled by his own dame, must be
 ruled by his step-dame.
 He casts beyond the Moon that hath pift on a nettle.
 How can the fole amble when the horfe and mare
 trot?
 Hunger maketh hard beans fweet.
 Hunger pierceth ftone walls.
 Hunger is the beft fauce.
 He is happy can beware by others harms.
 He who hath a good neighbour, hath a good morrow.
 He that fees his neighbour's houfe a fire, must take
 heed to his own.

I.

Jack would be a gentleman if he could fpeak French.
 If you eat a pudding at home, the dog fhall have the
 fhin.
 If every man mend one, all fhall be mended.
 Ill gotten, ill fpent.
 Ill egging makes ill begging.
 Ill putting a naked fword in a mad man's hand.
 Ill weeds grow faft.
 It is ill to fet fpurs to a flying horfe.
 In love is no lack.
 It is good to hold a candle before the devil.
 It is better be fpited than pitied.
 It is better to fee a clout than a hole out.
 In fpace cometh grace.
 In truft is treafon.
 It chanceth in an hour that happeneth not in feven
 year.
 It cometh by kind, it coft them nothing.
 It is bad cloth that will take no colour.
 It is a foul bird that defileth his own neft.
 It is an ill wind that bloweth no man good.

It is a good horse that never stumbleth.
It is better kifs a knave than to be troubled with him
Ill news comes too soon.
It is better to be unborn than untaught.
I scratch where it itches not.
It is not good jesting with edge-tools.
It is better to be a shrew than a sheep.
It is easier to descend than to ascend.
It is evil waking of a sleeping dog.
It is good fishing in troubled water.
It is good to beware by other men's harms.
It is good to be merry and wise.
It is good sleeping in a whole skin.
It is better late than never.
It is true that all men say.
It is good to have a hatch before the door.
It is hard halting before a cripple.
It is hard to wive and thrive both in a year.
It is hard striving against a stream.
It is ill coming to the end of a feast and beginning
of a fray.
It is too late to grieve when the chance is past.
It is an easie thing to find a staff to beat a dog.
It is ill fishing before the net.
It is ill healing of an old sore.
It is merry in hall when beards wag all.
It is merry when knaves meet.
It is not all butter that the cow shites.
It must needs be true that every man faith.
It is shaven against the wool.
It is hard to teach an old dog tricks.
Ill luck is good for something.
It is an ill dog not worth whisteling.
If the Lion's skin cannot do it, the Foxes shall.
It is better to give the fleece than the wooll.
If wishes were Thrushes, then beggers would eat
birds.

It pricketh betimes that will be a good thorn.
It is not good to have an oare in every man's boat.
It will not out of the flesh that's bred in the bone.
It is good to strike while the Iron is hot.
I will not buy a pig in a poke.

K.

Kick not against a prick.
Kissing goes by favour.
Keep the Wolf from the door.
Ka me, Ka thee.
Kindness will creep where it cannot go.
Keep bayard in the stable.
King Harry lov'd a man.

L.

Lay no pearl before swine.
Leave is light.
Light gains makes a heavy purse.
Like will to like.
Little said soon amended.
Look ere you leap.
Little good soon spent.
Like the Flounder, out of the frying-pan into the
fire.
Little knoweth the fat fow what the lean doth mean.
Look not too high, lest a chip fall into thine eye.
Love cometh in at the window, and goeth out at the
door.
Lightly come, lightly go.
Love is blind.
Love me little, love me long.
Love me, love my dog.
Lovers live by love, as Larks by leeks.
Like master, like man.
Lean not to a broken staff.

Look not a given horse in the mouth.
Light a candle before the Devil.
'Longsmoreto marriage than four barelegs in a bed.

M.

Many a good Cow hath an ill Calf.
Many hands make light work.
Many cannot see wood for trees.
Make hay while Sun shines.
Make not a balk of good ground.
Much water goes by the Mill that the Miller knows
not of.
Malice never fpake well.
Make a pipe of a pig's tail.
Many kinsfolk, few friends.
Many kifs the child for the Nurfe's fake.
Many a little makes a mickle.
Many small make a great.
Most master wears the breeches.
Many speak of Robin Hood that never shot in his
bow.
Many stumble at a straw, and leap over a block.
Many a man talks of little John that never did him
know.
Mifreckoning is no payment.
Meafure is a merry mean.
Might overcometh right.
More afraid than hurt.
My Kiln of Malt is on fire.
Much would have more.
Much cry and little wool.
More hafte, worft speed.

N.

No longer pipe, no longer dance.
Need hath no law.

Need maketh the old wife trot.
 Never pleasure without repentance.
 No dearth but breeds in the horfe-manger.
 No man loveth his fetters, be they made of Gold.
 No man ought to look a given horfe in the mouth.
 No woman seeks another in the oven which hath
 not before been there.
 Near is my petticoat, but nearer my smock.
 No smoke without fire.
 No penny, no Pater-noster.
 Nothing hath no favour.
 Nothing is impossible to a willing heart.
 Nothing venture, nothing have.
 No butter will stick on his bread.
 No fence for ill fortune.

O.

Of a good beginning cometh a good end.
 One may see day at a little hole.
 Out nettle, in dock.
 Opportunity makes a Thief.
 Opportunity is whoredom's Bawd.
 Of a ragged colt cometh a good horfe.
 Of little meddling cometh great ease.
 Of sufferance cometh ease.
 One ill weed marreth a whole pot of pottage.
 One ill word asketh another.
 One good turn asketh another.
 One shrewd turn followeth another.
 One Swallow maketh not Summer ; nor one Wood-
 cock a Winter.
 Out of fight, out of mind.
 One begger is wo that another by the door should go.
 One bird in hand is better than two in the bush.
 One beateth the bush, another catcheth the birds.
 One scabbed sheep will mar a whole flock.

Old men and far travellers may lie by authority.
Once an use, and ever a custom.
Out of debt, out of deadly sin.
Old birds are not caught with chaff.

P.

Poor and proud, fie, fie.
Pain is forgotten where gain follows.
Penny wife and pound foolish.
Pride goeth before, and shame cometh after.
Pride will have a fall.
Proffered service stinketh.
Prove thy friend ere thou have need.
Puff not against the wind.
Peevish pity mars a City.
Praise a fair day at night.
Pouring oyl into the fire is not the way to quench it.

R.

Reckoners without their host must reckon twice.
Rome was not built in one day.
Rowling stones gather no moss.
Remove an old tree, and it will dye.
Rob Peter to pay Paul.

S.

Save a Thief from the Gallows, and he'll cut your throat.
Saying and doing are two things.
Seldom cometh the better.
Seldom seen is soon forgotten.
Self do, self have.
Shame in a kindred cannot be avoyded.
Shame take him that shame thinketh.
Shameful craving must have shameful nay.
Set a begger a horseback, and he will gallop.

Small pitchers have wide ears.
 Short shooting looseth the game.
 So many heads, so many wits.
 Soft fire maketh sweet malt.
 Somewhat is better than nothing.
 Stumble at a straw, and leap over a block.
 Soon gotten, soon spent.
 Soon hot, soon cold.
 Soon crooks the tree that good Cameril will be.
 Soon ripe, soon rotten.
 Soon it pricks that will be a thorn.
 So long goes the pot to the water that at length it
 comes home broken.
 Spare to speak, spare to speed.
 Speak fair, and think what you will.
 Spend, and God will fend.
 Store is no fore.
 Struggle not against the stream.
 Such a Father, such a Son.
 Such beginning, such end.
 Such lips, such lettuce.
 Such welcome, such farewell.
 Such Carpenters, such chips.
 Sweet meat will have fowre fauce.
 Stop two gaps with one bush.
 Spare at the brim rather than at the bottom.
 Spare and ever bare.
 Still Sow eats all the draffe.
 Such a one hath a good wit if a wise man had the
 keeping it.

T.

Take time when time cometh, lest time steal away.
 Take heed is a good reed.
 Three hungry makes makes the fourth a glutton.
 Threatn'd folks live long.

There is no wo to want.
Tales of Robin hood are good for fools.
That one will not, another will.
The burnt child dreads the fire.
That the eye seeth not, the heart rueth not.
That penny is well spent that saveth a groat.
The begger may sing before the thief.
The eye of the Master makes the horse fat.
The best cart may overthrow.
The best is best cheap.
The belly thinks the throat is cut.
The blind eats many a lie.
The blind lead the blind, and both fall into the ditch.
The Cat knoweth whose lips she licketh well enough.
The Cat would eat fish, and would not wet her feet.
The Crow thinketh her own birds fairest.
The fewer the better fare.
The Fox fareth well when he is cursed.
The greatest talkers are the least doers.
The greatest Clerks be not the wisest men.
The greatest Crabs be not all the best.
That groat is ill fav'd that shames the Master.
There is craft in dawbing.
Takes pepper in the nose.
The weakest goes to the walls.
The pot goes so oft to the water, at last comes broken home.
The wife and the sword may be shewed, but not lent.
The Cuckold is the last that knows of it.
The end makes all equal.
The greatest calf is not the sweetest Veal.
Thoughts are free from toil.
Trust is the Mother of deceit.
The gray Mare is the better horse.

The lame tongue gets nothing.
 The early Bird catcheth the Worm.
 There 'longs more to wedding than four bare legs
 in a bed.
 The King of good fellows is appointed for the
 Queen of beggers.
 To have a stomach and lack meat, to have meat and
 lack a stomach, to lie in bed and cannot rest, are
 great miseries.
 The proof of a pudding is in the eating.
 The more knave the better luck.
 Two hands in a dish and one in a purse.
 The envious man shall never want wo.
 The sluggard must be clad in rags.
 The fairest Rose in the end is withered.
 The highest tree hath the greatest fall.
 The young Cock croweth as the old heareth.
 The keys hang not all at one man's girdle.
 The longer East, the shorter West.
 The longest day hath his end.
 The low stake standeth long.
 The more hast the less speed.
 The more the merrier.
 The more thy Years, the nigher thy Grave's.
 The more ye stir a Turd, the worse it will stink.
 The nearer the Church, the farther from God.
 The new broom sweepeth clean.
 The Parish Priest forgetteth that ever he hath been
 holy water Clark.
 The rough net is not the best catcher of birds.
 The shoe will hold with the sole.
 The still fow eateth up all the draff.
 The tide stayeth for no man.
 There be more wayes to the wood than one.
 There is difference between staring and stark blind.
 They must hunger in frost that will not work in heat.

They that be in Hell ween there is no other Heaven.
There is falshood in fellowship.
There is no fool to the old fool.
They that are bound must obey.
Three may keep counsel if two be away.
Time lost we cannot win.
Time stayeth for no man.
Touch a gall'd horse on the back, and he will kick.
Too much of one thing is good for nothing.
Tread a worm on the tail, and it must turn again.
Truth shameth the Devil.
Two eyes can see more than one.
The sea hath fish for every man.
There is no fishing to the sea, nor service to the
King.
'Tis better to sit still than rise to fall.
There's more Maids than Maukins.
There's no fence for ill fortune.
There's no weather ill when the wind is still.
The Fair lasts all the year.
The postern door makes thief and whore.
They hardly can run that cannot go.
Two anons and a by and by is an hour and a half.
That's bred in the bone will never out of the flesh.
The Horse that is next the Mill carries all the Grist.
Two false Knaves need no Broker.
Two heads are better than one.
The counsel thou wouldest have another keep, first
keep it thy self.

W.

We can have no more of the cat but her skin.
What is a Workman without his Tools?
What the Heart thinketh the Tongue speaketh.
When the belly is full the bones would be at rest.
When the head aketh all the body is the worse.


What some win in the Hundred, they lose in the
 Shire.
 When the Iron is hot strike.
 When the pig is proffered hold up the poke.
 When the Skie falleth we shall have Larks.
 When the steed is stoln shut the stable door.
 When the Sun shineth make hay.
 Where shall a man have a worse friend than he
 brings from home?
 When thy neighbours house doth burn be careful
 of thine own.
 When Thieves fall out, true men come to their
 Goods.
 Where nothing is a little doth ease.
 Where nothing is the King must lose his Right.
 Where saddles lack, better ride on a pad, than on
 the Horse bare back.
 Where be no receivers, there be no thieves.
 Where nought is to wend with wise men flee the
 clog.
 Where the hedge is lowest, men may soonest over.
 Where wine is not common, Commons must be
 sent.
 While the grafs groweth the horse starveth.
 Without hope the heart would break.
 Who is worse shod than the Shoemaker's wife?
 Who lacketh a stock, his gain is not worth a chip.
 Who medleth in all things may shoe the goslings.
 Whom weale pricks, sorrow comes after and licks.
 Who so bold as blind Bayard?
 Who so deaf as he that will not hear?
 We sometimes scratch where it itches not.
 Who is so blind as he that will not see?
 Who so that knew what would be dear, should need
 be Merchant but one year.
 Who weddeth ere he be wife, shall die ere he thrive.

Wille will have wilt, though will woe win.
 Win Gold and wear Gold.
 Wisfers and woulders be no good houfholders.
 Wit is never good till it be bought.
 Who that may not as they would, will as they may.
 Winter's thunder makes Summer's wonder.

Y.

Yll gotten, ill fpend.
 Ynough is as good as a feaft.
 Young Saint, old Devil.
 You are as feafonable as Snow in Summer.
 You could not fee wood for trees.
 Young men may die, but old muft die.
 Young Cocks love no coops.
 Ye had lief go to Mill as to Mafs.
 You cannot fare well but you muft cry roft meat.

POEMS.

F the dignity of Poetry much hath been
 faid by the worthy Sir Philip Sidney, and
 by the Gentleman which proved that
 Poets were the firft Politicians, the firft
 Philofophers, the firft Hiftoriographers. I will only
 add out of Philo, that they were God's own creatures;
 who in his Book "de Plantatione Noe," reporteth,
 that when he had made the whole World's Mafs,
 he created Poets to celebrate and fet out the Crea-
 tour himfelf, and all the Creatures: You Poets
 read the place, and you will like it. Howfoever it
 pleafeth the Italian to censure us, yet neither doth
 the Sun fo far retire his Chariot from our Cli-
 mate, neither are there lefs favourable afpects

between Mercury, Jupiter, and the Moon, in our inclination of Heaven, if Poets are *Fato*, as it pleased Socrates; neither are our Poets destitute of Art, prescribed by reason, and grounded upon experience, but they are as pregnant both in witty conceits and devices, and also imitation, as any of them. Yea, and according to the Argument excel in Grandity and Gravity, in smoothness and propriety, in quickness and briefness. So that for skill, variety, efficacy and sweetness, the four material points required in a Poet, they can both teach and delight perfectly.

This would easily appear if any lines were extant of that worthy British Lady Claudia Rufina, so commended by Martial; or of Gildas, which Lilius Giraldus saw in the Libraries of Italy, or of old Chedmon,¹ who by divine inspiration, about the year 680, became so divine a Poet in our English Tongue that, with his sweet Verses full of compunction, he withdrew many from vice to virtue, and a religious fear of God; or of our Claudius Clemens, one of the first Founders of the University of Paris; and doth most clearly appear to all that can judge by many learned Poems published in this our Learned Age. But whereas these latter are in every man's hand, and the former are irrecoverable, I will only give you a taste of some of middle age, which was so overcast with dark clouds, or rather thick fogs of ignorance, that every little spark of liberal Learning seemed wonderful; so that if sometime you happen of an uncouth word, let the time entreat pardon for it, whenas all words have their times, and as he saith,—

“Licuit semperque licebit,
Signatum præsentē nota procudere nomen.”

¹ Cædmon.

We will begin with Joseph of Excester,¹ who followed our King Richard the First in his Wars in the Holy Land, celebrated his Acts in a Book called "Antiocheido," and turn'd Dares' "Phrigias" so happily into Verse that it hath been printed not long since in Germany under the name of "Cornelius Nepos."

The passing of the pleasant River Simois by Troy and the encounter between the Waves of the Sea and it, at the disemboguing, or inlet thereof, he lively setteth forth thus :

"Proxima rura rigans, alio peregrinus ab orbe
 Vifurus Trojam Simois, longoque meatu
 Emeruisse velit, ut per tot regna, tot urbes
 Exeat æquoreas tandem Trojanus in undas.
 Dumque indefesso miratur Pergama visu
 Lapsurum suspendit iter, fluviumque moratur,
 Tardior & totam complecti destinat urbem :
 Suspensis infensus aquis violentior instat
 Nereus, atque amnem cogens procul ire minorem
 Proximus accedit urbi ; contendere credas
 Quis proprior, sic alternis concurratur undis,
 Sic crebras iterant voces, sic jurgia miscent."

You may at one view behold Mount Ida with his trees, and the Country adjacent to Troy, in these few lines, as in a most pleasant prospect, presented unto you thus, by the said Joseph :

"Haud procul incumbens intercurrentibus arvis
 Idæus confurgit apex, vetus incola montis
 Silva viret, vernat abies procera, cupressus
 Flebilis, interpretes laurus, vaga pinus, oliva
 Concilians, cornus venatrix, fraxinus audax,
 Stat comitis patiens ulmus, nunquamq ; senescens
 Cantatrix buxus : paulo proclivius arvom
 Ebria vitis habet, non dedignata latere

¹ "The best of our mediæval Latin poets."—*Wright's Biog. Brit. Norman Period*, p. 402.

Crancricolam pascit Phœbum ; vicinus aristas
Prægnantes fœcundat ager ; non plura Falernus
Vina bibit, non tot pascit Campania messes."

A right woman and Lady-like disdain may be observed in the same Author, where he bringeth in Pallas, mating dame Juno with modest disdainfulness before Paris in the action of beauty, a matter of greatest importance in that sex, after this manner of reply :

"Magna parens superum, nec enim nego ; magna Tonantis
Nupta, nec invideo ; meritum, Paris inclyte, nostrum
Si quod erat carpsit : testor freta, testor Olympum,
Testor humum, non armatas in prælia linguæ
Credideram venisse deas ; hæc parte loquacem
Erubeo sexum, minus hic quam fœmina possum.
Martem alium didici, victoria fœda ubi victus
Plus laudis victore feret, nostrisque trophæis
Hic haud notus honos. Sed quo regina dearum
Effatu tendit ? Dea sit, cedo, imo Dearum
Maxima ; non dextra fortiri sceptrâ potentis,
Partirive Jovem certatim venimus, illa,
Illa habeat, quæ se ostentat."

In the commendation of Britain, for breeding martial men, and praise of the famous King Arthur, he sung in his "Antiocheidos" these which only remain out of that work :

"Inclyta fulsit
Posteritas ducibus tantis, tot dives alumnis,
Tot fœcunda viris, premerent qui viribus orbem,
Et fama veteres. Hinc Constantinus adeptus
Imperium, Romam tenuit, Byzantion auxit.
Hinc Senonum ductor captiva Brennius urbe
Romuleas domuit flammis victricibus arces.
Hinc & Scæva fatus, pars non obscura tumultus
Civilis, Magnum solus qui mole soluta
Obsedit, meliorque stetit pro Cæsare murus.
Hinc celebri fato fœlici floruit ortu
Flos regum Arthurus, cujus tamen æta stupori
Non micuere minus, totus quod in aure voluptas
Et populo plaudente favus. Quæcunque priorum

Inspice, Pellæum commendat fama Tyrannum,
 Pagina Cæsarios loquitur Romana triumphos,
 Alciden domitis attollit gloria monstros.
 Sed nec pinetum coryli, nec sydera solem
 Æquant, Annales Graios, Latiosque revolve.
 Prisca parem nescit, æqualem postera nullum
 Exhibitura dies : Reges superemint omnes :
 Solus præteritis melior, majorque futuris."

If a painter would pourtraict devils, let him paint
 them in his colours as *Fœlix*, the old monk of
 Crowland, depainted the bugges of Crowland in his
 verses, and they will seem right hell hounds.

"Sunt aliqui quibus est crinis rigidus, caput amplum,
 Frons cornuta, gens distorta, pupilla coruscans,
 Os patulum, labra turgentia, dens præacutus,
 Et quibus est crinis quasi seta, caput quasi truncus,
 Frons quasi cera, gena quasi pix, oculus quasi carbo,
 Os quasi sporta, labra quasi plumbum, dens quasi buxus.
 Sunt alii quibus est vultus gibbosus & acer,
 Nasus curvatus & foedus, & auris acuta,
 Et grandis cervix dependens & macilenta ;
 Cæsaries & barba rigens, frons & gena pallens,
 Nasus & auris olens, vertex & sinciput horrens.
 Et sunt perplures qui crine videntur adusto,
 Fronte truci, naso prægrandi, lumine torvo,
 Faucibus horrendis, labris pendentibus, ore
 Ignivomo, vultu squamoso, vertice grosso,
 Dente fero, mento peracuto, gutture rauco,
 Pelle nigra, scapulis contractis, ventre rapaci,
 Costis mobilibus, Lumbis ardentibus, anis
 Caudatis, genibus nodatis, cruribus uncis,
 Plantis averſi, talisque tumentibus : & sunt
 Nonnulli, quibus est non horrida forma, sed ipse
 Horror, cum non sint scelerati, sed scelus ipsum."

He did seem also a good Poet, in his age, which
 described a great battel between the Danes and the
 English thus :

"Eminus in primis hiberni grandinis instar,
 Tela volant, sylvas hastarum fragmina frangunt ;
 Mox ruitur propius, præscinditur ensis ab ense,

Conculcatur equus ab equo, ruit hostis in hostem,
 Hic effosa trahit hostili viscera ferro,
 Hic jacet ex animis fusa cum sanguine vita,
 Hic pedis, ille manus, hic pectoris ille lacerti
 Vulnere damnatus reditum proponit inanem."

If he which scraped together the fragments of ancient Poets had hapned on the verses following, written to a Bishop of Norwich, haply he would have inserted them.

"Magnus Alexander bellorum sæpe procellas
 Immixtus fregit studiis, Socratesque studendi
 Continuum solitus interrupisse laborem,
 Threicias tremulo numeravit pollice chordas.
 Cedit Atlas oneri, civili scriptor ab ense
 Julius abstinuit, invictus sæpe quievit
 Alcides, rigidum mollis lyra flexit Achillem.
 Tu quoque lugenti patriæ graviterque diuque
 Expectate parens, sibi quem viduata maritum
 Jam Pastoralis Norwici regia poscit," &c.

John Hauvill, a Monk of S. Alban's, made this good and godly invocation before his poem, comparable with many of the latter brood.

"Tu Cyrrhæ latices nostræ Deus implue menti,
 Eloquenti rorem siccis infunde labellis,
 Distillaque favos, quos necdum pallidus auris
 Scit Tagus, aut sitiens admotis Tantalus undis,
 Dirige quæ timide suscepit dextera, dextram
 Audacem pavidamque juva, tu mentis habenas
 Fervoremque rege, quicquid dictaverit ori
 Spiritus aridior, oleum suffunde favoris.
 Tu patris es verbum, tu mens, tu dextera Verbum.
 Expediat verbum, mens mentem, dextera dextram."

Lazy and superficial scholars, which thrust the day forward with their shoulders in the University, and return as wife as they came thither, he describeth in this sort :

"Hi sunt qui statux veniunt, statuxque recedunt,
 Et Bacchi sapiunt, non Phœbi pocula. Nyfa

Agmina, non Cyrrhæ, Phœbo Bacchoque ministrant,
Hoc pleni, illo vacui."

The old Ale-knights of England were well painted out of him, in the Ale-house colours of time, in this manner :

"Jamque vagante scypho, discincto gutture *was heil*
Ingeminant *was heil*; labor est plus perdere vini
Quam sitis, exhaurire merum vehementius ardent,
Quam exhaurire sitim."

The same John Hauvil, when he would signify whatsoever envy had wrought against Troy Roman vertue had repaired, sung briefly :

"Si quid de culmine Trojæ
Diminuit livor, virtus reparavit, ut orbi
Hic urbem rapuit, hæc orbem reddidit urbi."

Passionate are these verses upon the death of Richard the first, penned by one Gaulfrid :

"Neustria sub clypeo Regis defensa Richardi
Indefensa modo gestu testare dolorem.
Exudent oculi lachrymas, exterminet ora
Pallor, connodet digitos tortura, cruentet
Interiora dolor, & verberet aera clamor :
Tota peris ex morte sua, mors non fuit ejus
Sed tua, non una, sed publica mortis imago.
O Veneris lachrymosa dies, o fidus amarum."

And after a few verses, he speaking to Deaddeth, in commendation of that Prince :

"Nihil addere noverat ultra ;
Ipse fuit quicquid potuit natura, sed istud
Causa fuit quare rapuisti, res pretiosas
Eligis, & viles quasi dedignata relinquis."

These former verses were mentioned by Chaucour English Homer, in the description of the sudden stir and Panicall fear, when Chanteclere the Cock was carried away by Reynold the Fox, with relation to the said Galfride.

"The filly widow and her daughters two
 Herd the hennes cry and make ado.
 And out at the dore stert they anon
 And saw the Fox toward the wood ygon,
 And bare upon his back the Cock away,
 And cryed out harow and well away,
 Aha the fox, and after him they ran,
 And eke with staves many other man.
 Ran Coll our dogge, Talbot and eke Garland,
 And Malkin with her distaffe in her hand,
 Ran Cow and calf and eke the very hogges :
 For they so fore affraid were of the dogges,
 And shouting of men and of women eake,
 They ran so her hert thought to breake.
 They yellen as fends do in hell,
 The Duckes cried as men would them quell,
 The Geese for fear flew over the trees,
 Out of the hives came swarms of Bees.
 So hideous was the noise, ah *benedicite*,
 Comes Jacke Straw, ne his meiney
 Ne made never shouts half so shrill,
 When that they would any Fleming kill,
 As that day was made upon the Fox.
 Of brasse they blew the trumpets and of box,
 Of horne, and box, i which they blew and pouped,
 And therewith they shrieked and shouted,
 It seemed as though heaven should fall.
 O Gaulfride, dere master soveraigne,
 That, when the worthy King Richard was slaine
 With shot, complainedst his death so fore,
 Why ne had I now thy science and thy lore ?
 Thy Friday for to chide as did ye,
 For on a Friday shortly slain was he,
 Then would I shew you how that I could plaine,
 For Chauntecleeres dred and for his paine.
 Certes such cry, ne lamentation,
 Was never of Ladies made when that Ilion
 Was won, and Pirhus with his bright sword,
 When he hent King Priam by the beard,
 And slough him (as saith *Æneidos*)
 As made alle the hennes in the cloos,
 When they lost of chantecleere the sight :
 But soveraignly dame Pertelot shright,
 Well louder than did Hasdrubal's wife,

When that her husband hath lost his life,
 And that the Romans had brent Carthage ;
 She was so full of torment and of rage,
 That wilfully into the fire she stert,
 And brent her self with a stedfast hert.
 O woful Hennes right so cried ye,
 As when that Nero brent the city
 Of Rome, cryed the Senatours wives,
 For that her husbands should lose her lives."

These may suffice for some Poetical descriptions of our ancient Poets ; if I would come to our time, what a world could I present to you out of Sir Philip Sidney, Ed. Spencer, John Owen, Samuel Daniel, Hugh Holland, Ben Johnson, Thomas Champion, Mich. Drayton, George Chapman, John Marston, William Shakespeare,¹ and other most pregnant wits of these our times, whom succeeding ages may justly admire.

EPIGRAMMS.

IN short and sweet Poems framed to praise or dispraise, or some other sharp conceit, which are called Epigramms, as our countrey-men now surpass other Nations, so in former times they were not inferiour, if you consider Ages, as the indifferent Reader may judge by these.

In the dark mist of all good learning, about 800 years since, in commendation of the godly King Saint Osuuald, was made this :

" Quis fuit Alcides ? quis Cæsar Julius ? aut quis
 Magnus Alexander ? Alcides se superasse

¹ William Shakespeare last in the list !

Fertur, Alexander mundum ; sed Julius hostem.
Se simul Ofuualdus, & mundum vicit, & hostem."

To the honour of Elfred, a noble Lady which repaired Darby, Chester, Warwick, &c., I have found this :

"O Elfreda potens, ô terror virgo virorum,
Victrix naturæ nomine digna viri ;
Te quo splendidior fieres, natura puellam,
Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.
Te mutare decet, sed solum nomina sexus :
Tu regina potens, Rexque trophæa parans.
Jam nec Cæsarii tantum meruere triumphi,
Cæsare splendidior virgo, virago viges."

This also may here have place, which William Conqueror's Poet made to him when he had obtained this Realm :

"Cæsariem Cæsar tibi si natura negavit,
Hanc Willielme tibi stella comata dedit."

It may seem he alluded to the baldness of Julius Cæsar, who for that cause used a Lawrel Garland, to the Comet appearing before his conquest of this Kingdom, portending the same as it was thought, and to the manner of the French in that time, among whom long bushy hair was the signal mark of Majesty, as Agathias noteth, when as all subjects were rounded, and the Kings only long-haired. Which custom continued among the French Kings, until Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris, dissuaded them from it, and among ours, as appeareth by their seals until King Henry the fifth.

The happy success of English and Normans, with the cowardly flight of the French at Nugent, 1109, in the time of King Henry the first, was thus expressed :

"Henricus regum rex & decus, abstulit altos
Francigenis animos, Ludovicum namque Nugenti

Rex regem campo magnum major superavit :
 Præposuere fugam bellis, calcaria telis
 Galli præcípites : fama spoliisque potitos
 Laurea Normanos, & laus æterna coronat.
 Sic decus iste ducum, sic corda tumentia pressit,
 Oraque Francorum superba mutire coegit."

Maude, daughter to Malcolm, King of Scots, a woman of rare piety, buried at Westminster, to which Church she would come daily barefoot, while the Court lay there, had an excellent Epigramme made to her commendation, whereof these four verses only remain :

" Prospera non lætam fecere, nec aspera tristem,
 Aspera risus erant, prospera terror erant.
 Non decor effecit fragilem, non sceptræ superbam,
 Sola potens humilis, sola pudica decens."

No bad Poet was he which wrote to the honour of Adeliza, second wife to King Henry the first, who was daughter to the Duke of Brabant, and sister to Lord Joscelin, of Lovain, from whom the Percies, Earls of Northumberland, descended.

" Anglorum Regina tuos Adeliza decores
 Ipsa referre parans Musa stupore riget.
 Quid Diadema tibi pulcherrima? quid tibi gemma?
 Pallet gemma tibi, nec Diadema nitet.
 Deme tibi cultus, cultum natura ministrat,
 Non exornari forma beata potest.
 Ornamenta cave, nec quicquam luminis inde
 Accipis, illa micant lumine clara tuo;
 Non puduit modicus de magnis dicere laudes,
 Nec pudeat dominam te precor esse meam."

Maude, daughter to King Henry the first, and mother to King Henry the second, happened on as good a Poet, who honoured or flattered her with these Epigramms :

* " Augustis Patribus augustior orta Mathildis,
 Quælibet in laudes ora diserta vocas.

- Sed frustra, quia nemo tibi præconia solvet
 Quæ genus, & mores, formaque digna petunt.
 Una loqui te lingua potest? quæ laudis opimæ
 Materiam linguis omnibus una paras?
- * "Filia præteriti, præsentis nupta, futuri
 Mater regis, habes hoc speciale tibi.
 Aut vix aut nunquam reperitur foemina quæ sit,
 Hæc cadem regum filia, nupta, parens.
 Nec tua nobilitas est à te cœpta, nec in te
 Definit, & post te vivet, ut ante fuit.
 Nec tu degeneras revera filia matris:
 Talem te genuit, qualis & ipsa fuit,
 Casta pudicam, provida cautam, pulchra decoram;
 Larga tulit largam, religiosa piam.
 Es rosa de radice rosæ, de religione
 Religio, pietas de pietate fluit.
- * "Sic mores Regina tuos componis, & actus,
 Ut sit in his iusto plusve, minusve nihil.
 Quippe nocere potes, non vis; Offenderis, ultro
 Condonas; Cœnis tristitia, compateris.
 Vis dare, non differs: Vis parcè vivere, nescis.
 Si loqueris, multum sermo nitoris habet.
 Si taceas, rigor est; si rides, risus honestus;
 Oras, orantis fletibus ora madent.
 Intus simplicitas mentem, foris ornat honestas
 Vultum, grata quidem singula, plusque simul."

But among all our old Epigrammatists all commendation is carried away by old Godfrey, Prior of Winchester, who lived Anno 1100, which City hath brought forth so many excelling in Poetical faculty, not only in former ages, but also in latter, out of the worthy Colledge there, that the very *Genius loci* doth seem Poetical. Out of his Epigrams, first imparted to me by the right learned Master Tho. Allen, of Oxford, I will here impart a few unto you.

To one that would know how long he should learn, he writeth thus:

"Discendi, Damiane, modum te quærere dicunt,
 Discas dum nescis, sit modus iste tibi."

That the contempt of fools is not to be respected:

"Contemptum fulti contemnere, Dindyme, laus est;
Contemni à stulto dedecus esse nego."

Against pride in prosperity:

"Extolli noli quum te fortuna beavit,
Pompone, hæc eadem quæ levat, ipsa premit."

Against such as teach well and live not accordingly:

"Multa Solon, sed plura Cato me verba docetis,
At nemo vestrum quanta docetis, agit."

To one which had eaten stinking meat:

"Druse, comedisti quem misit Silvius hircum,
Vel tibi non natus, vel tibi natus olet."

He teacheth us to relye upon firm and sure supports, lest we fall to the ground with them in this:

"Non est securus super titubantia fultus:
Jungere labenti, labitur ille, ruis."

That we must look for like measure, if we do not as we would be done unto, he admonisheth all under the name of Albius:

"Jurgia, clamores tibi gloria, gloria lites,
Et facis & dicis omnibus, unde noces.
Expectes eadem quæ nobis feceris, Albi,
Nam quem tu lædis, te ferit ille libens."

Youth which, in their haughty heat, reject the advice of old men, he adviseth thus:

"Pannorum veterum facile contemnitur usus,
Non sic consilium, Posthumiane, fenum."

The vanity of them which vaunt of their ancient nobility, and have no nobility in themselves, he thus taxeth:

"Stemmata continuas, recitas ex ordine patres,
Quis nisi tu similis, Rufule, quid recitas?"

That there was no contending with him who
with missive bribes can prevail against Justice.

"Missilibus, Daciane, tuis Astræa recessit,
Vincis missilibus Jus, Daciane, tuis."

The common proverb, Love me, love mine, he
thus advised us to observe :

"Me tanquam focium te dicis amare, Trebati,
Et quos totus amo dente furente teris :
Sed nisi sis focus focii, & amicus amicis,
Non potero nostrum dicere te focium."

Against hooked gifts which draw others :

"Multa mihi donas, vereor ne multa requiras,
Nolo mihi dones, Aulice, si repetas."

Against one that sought a benefice, and would
teach before he could teach :

"Qua doceat sedem quærit Plotinus & ædem,
Quærit qua doceat, non ea quæ doceat."

Against a covetous wretch :

"Nasidiane diu vixisti semper avarus,
Oro tibi vivas Nasidiane diu."

Against one that would exact of others, and do
nothing himself :

"Exigis à nobis quem null solvis amorem,
Quam nulli præstes exigis, Aule ; fidem :
Exigis à nobis quem non merearis honorem,
Mirum est quod non das, id tibi velle dari."

Against an Abbot that would defend his Monks
from others, but worry them himself :

"Tollit ovem de fauce lupi persæpe Molossus,
Ereptamque lupo ventre recondit ovem.
Tu quoque Sceva tuos prædone tueris ab omni,
Unus prædo tamen perdis ubique tuos."

One, amidst the wars between King Stephen and

Henry the Second, commended the same Henry in these verses :

"Prælia quanta movet Stephanus, moveat volo, namque
Gloria nulla foret si prælia nulla moveret :
Tu contra Stephanum, cui copia multa virorum,
Duxisti paucos, cur paucos ? gloria major
Est, multos paucis, quàm paucos vincere multis."

At the same troublesome time, and as it were desolation of England, were written to the same Henry, as it were in a *Protopopœia* of England :

"Dux Henrice nepos Henrici maxime magni ;
Anglia tota ruo, nec jam ruo tota ruina," &c.

Upon two fearful flights of the French, one at Vernoi, the other at Vendosme, in the time of King Henry the Second, one made this :

"Gallia fugisti bis, & hoc sub Rege Philippo,
Nec sunt sub modio facta pudenda duo.
Vernolium sumit testem fuga prima, secunda
Vindocinum, noctem prima secunda diem.
Nocte fugam primam celerasti, manè secundam,
Prima pavore fuit, vique secunda fuit."

When one had flattered William Longchamp, Bishop of Ely, the only powerful man of England in his time, with this blandation :

"Tam bene, tam facile tu magna negotia tractas,
Ut dubium reddas sis homo, sive Deus."

Giraldus Cambrensis, a man well born, and better lettered, of that House from whence the Giraldines of Ireland are descended, and Secretary to King John, played upon these Verses, and that Bishop after he was apprehended in woman's attire flying out of the Realm :

"Tam malè, tam temerè, tam turpiter omnia tractas,
Ut dubium reddas bellua sis, vel homo.
Sic cum sis minimus, tentas majoribus uti,
Ut dubium reddas sumia sis, vel homo."

He that made the Verse following (some ascribe it to that Giraldus) could adore both the Sun rising, and the Sun setting, when he could so cleanly honour King Henry the Second then departed, and King Richard succeeding.

“Mira cano, Sol occubuit, nox nulla sequuta.”

Great was the commendation of Mecænas, who, when he could do all with Augustus, yet never harmed any, whereupon in an Elegy upon his death, Peto Albenovanus writeth :

“Omnia cum posses, tanto tam carus amico,
Te sensit nemo posse nocere tamen.”

Which commendation King Henry the Eighth gave to that worthy Duke of Suffolk, Charles Brandon, who never used the King's favour to the hurt of any. And the same Giraldus testified the like of King Henry the Second, in this Verse, very effectually.

“Glorior hoc uno, quòd nunquam vidimus unum,
Nec potuisse magis, nec nocuisse minus.”

These also following are referred unto him :

“Vive Deo, tibi mors requies, tibi vita labori,
Vive Deo, mors est vivere, vita mori.”

These following were likewise written by him against lewd love :

“Nec laus, nec probitas, nec honor superare puellam,
Sed Veneris vitium vincere laudis opus.
Vis melius sapiens, melius vis strenuus esse,
Si Venerem superes, istud & istud eris :
Noli castra sequi Veneris, sed castra Minervæ,
Hæc docet, illa furit ; hæc juvat, illa nocet.
Cum sit amor vetitus, vetiti malus actus amoris,
Si malus, ergo nocet, si nocet, ergo fuge :
Cujus cœpta timor, medium scelus, exitus ignis,
Tu fuge, tu reproba, tu metuendo cave.”

Why the Sun appeareth ruddy, and as it were
blusheth at his first rising, Alexander Necham, some-
time Prior of Cirencester, rendreth the cause thus:

“Sol vultu roseo rubicundo fulget in ortu,
Incestæ noctis facta pudore notans.
Nempè rubore suo tot damnat damna pudoris,
Cernere tot Phœbum gesta pudenda pudet :
Tot blendos nexus, tot suavia pressa labellis,
Tot miseræ Veneris monstra novella videt,
Frigida quòd nimium caleat lasciva senectus,
Ignis quòd gelido ferveat amne, stupet.”

Of the fiery colour of the Planet Mars, and the
spots in the Moon, he giveth this reason :

“Mars venerem secum deprensam fraude mariti
Erubuit, superest flammeus ille rubor.
Sed cur Lunaris facies fuscata videtur ?
Quæ vultu damnat, furta videre solet.
Adde quòd Ecclesiam Phœbe, maculæ nota culpam
Signat, habet maculas utraque Luna suas.”

If you will read carping Epigrammatical Verses
of a Durham Poet against Ralph the Prior, here
you may have them :

“De sene, de calvo, de delirante Radulpho
Omnia monstra cano, nil nisi vera tamen :
Imputat errores aliis semper, sibi nunquam,
Est aliis Argus Tyresiasque sibi.
Non vult esse bonus, sed vult bonus esse videri ;
Est ovis exterius, interiusque lupus.
Sus Vita, canis officio, vulpecula fraude,
Mente lepus, passer renibus, ore lupus.
Talis qui Dæmon nunquam poterit nisi morte
Esse bonus, postquam desinat esse malus.”

The same Authour plai'd also prettily upon Wil-
liam and Alan, Arch-deacons of Northumberland
and Durham.

“Archilevitas in sorte Northumbria largos,
Dunelmum cupidos semper habere solet.

Nunc è converſo ſedem dotavit utramque
 Willelmi probitas, crimen Alane tuum.
 Vos nunc degeneres patribus ſucceditis ambo,
 Hic bonus, antè malus, hic malus, antè bonus."

Answerable to theſe were theſe Verſes of the ſaid
 Durham Poet, upon the fate of a Pot and a Pipkin,
 when the Pot was all broken, and the Pipkin loſt
 but the handle, by the fall of a window.

"Lapſa fenestra ruit, luit urna ſciplusque propinquus,
 Definit hæc eſſe prorsus, hic eſſe bene.

Alias.

Lapſa fenestra ruit, ſciplus urna luunt, nihil illa
 Quo teneat, nihil hic quo teneatur, habet."

When King Richard the Firſt was detained pri-
 ſoner with the Emperour, one did write this ſuppli-
 cant Verſe to the Emperour in a ſharp cloſe.

"Magnus es, & genibus flexis tibi ſupplicat orbis,
 Cum poſſis, noli ſævire, memento Neronis."

A Huſwife which had encreaſed her Family, in
 her Huſband's abſence, with a new brat aſſured her
 Huſband, at his return, that ſhe conceived it of a
 Snow-ball caſt at her. But he conveying it away,
 ſelling it to a beggar, aſſured her with the like lye:
 that as it was conceived by Snow, ſo it was melted
 away by the Sun, which a Poet in the time of King
 John expreſſed thus very briefly, and for that Age
 prettily.

"Rebus in augendis longè remorante marito,
 Uxor mœcha parit puerum; poſt multa reverſo,
 De nive conceptum fingit: fraus mutua, cautè
 Suſtulit, aſportat, vendit, matrique reportans
 Ridiculum ſimile, liquefactum ſole reſingit."

But two others comprized the ſame matter more
 ſuccinctly in this manner:

"De nive conceptum quem mater adultera fingit,
 Sponſus eum vendens, liquefactum ſole reſinxit."

A A

"Vir quia quem reperit genitum nive foemina fingit,
Vendit; & à simili liquefactum sole refinxit."

That Scholar also could play at even and odd, that
could keep the figure Compar so precisely in these
two Verses upon the Spring :

"Turba colorum, vis violarum, pompa rosarum,
Induit hortos, pauperat agros, pascit ocellos."

A Suter, wearied with delays in the Emperours
Court, did at the length frame this Distich, and
coaled it on a wall :

"Si nequeo placidas affari Caesaris aures,
Saltem aliquis veniat, qui mihi dicat, Abi."

So a poor English man fed with vain hope by
many in the time of King Henry the Third, did
write this Distich :

"Spem mihi dent alii magnam, rem tu cito parvam,
Res me parva juvet, spes mihi magna nocet."

Against a carping companion was this made
about that time by John Havill :

"Zoile, tu laudum cuneus, tu ferra bonorum,
Magna doles, majora notas, in maxima saevis."

Such as can speak feelingly of Church Livings,
will not dissemble that these were the four entrances
into the Church, which a Country man of ours long
since in this manner Epigrammatically opened.

"Ecclesias portis his quatuor itur in omnes,
Principis, & Simonis, sanguinis atque Dei.
Prima patet magnis, nummatis altera, charis
Tertia, sed raris janua quarta patet."

Good also is that under Saint Peter in the Cathed-
ral Church of Norwich (were it not for the fault
which is in the former), but therein you have St.
Peter's Ship, Sea, Nets, and Fish :

"Ecclesiam pro Nave rego, mihi climata mundi
Sunt mare, scripturæ retia, piscis homo."

When Eustathius was elected Bishop of London,
one congratulated his advancement thus :

"Omnes hic digni, tu dignior omnibus, omnes
Hic plene sapiunt, plenius ipse sapis."

Of a bragging brawl, between two well met, was
framed this by Henry of Winchester, but the be-
ginning is lost.

"Hic ait, ille negat, hic asserit, ille refellit,
Hic proavos multum prædicat, ille premit.
Fifus uterque sibi se venditat iste decorem
Jactitat, ille decus, hic opus, alter opes.
Hic bonus, ille beatus, hic multus deserit, ille
Multiplicata refert : hic levis, ille loquax."

When Adrian, our Country-man, had converted
some people of Norway, and was made Pope, this
was composed to his honour :

"Conferet hic Romæ plus laudis quam sibi Roma,
Plus dabit hic orbi, quam dabit orbis ei."

But this would not easily be matched in our age,
which was written in the time of King Henry the
Sixth over the entrance into the Receipt at West-
minster, to admonish Accomptants to be circumspect
in entering as Janus with his two heads ; and as
vigilant in ending Exchequer Accounts as Argus
with his hundred eyes.

"Ingrediens Jani, rediture sis æmulus Argi."

These are all of former times, and with the
quaint and most excellent ones of our polite Age,
which every where present themselves to your view,
I will only recover from oblivion these made upon
the Pictures of the two most potent and prudent

Princes, Queen Elizabeth of England, Queen Mary of Scotland.

In ELIZABETHAM Angliæ Reginam.

* Buchan-
nan.

“Cujus imago Deæ facie cui lucet in una,
Temperie mixta, Juno, Minerva, Venus?
Est dea : quid dubitem ? cui sic conspirat amice
Mascula vis, hilaris gratia, celsus honos :
Aut Dea si non est, Diva est quæ præsidet Anglis,
Ingenio, vultu, moribus æqua Deis.”

In Eandem.

“Quæ manus artificis tria sic confundit, ut uno
Gratia, majestas, & decor ore micent ?
Non pictoris opus fuit hoc, sed pectoris, unde
Divinæ in tabulam mentis imago fluit.”

MARIA Regina Scotia.

“Ut Mariam finxit natura, ars pinxit : utrumque
Rarum & soletis summum opus artificis.
Ipse animum sibi dum pingit, sic vicit utrumque,
Ut natura rudis, ars videatur iners.

“En tibi magnanimæ spirantia Principis ora,
Omnia quam mundi mirantur regna, venustæ
Non decus ob formæ tantum prolemque decoram,
Innumerasque animi dotes, quas divite dextra
Infudit natura potens : sed mascula virtus,
Religionis amor, fidei constantia mentes
Plus rapit attonitas hominum, quam fama vel oris
Gratia rara sui.”

She sending to Queen Elizabeth a Diamor fashioned in the figure of an Heart, accompanied with these Verses :

“Quod te jampridem fruitur, videt ac amat absens,
Hæc pignus cordis gemma, & imago mei est,
Non est candidior, non est hæc purior illo :
Quamvis dura magis, non mage firma tamen.”

RYTHMES.

RHYMING Verses, which are called Versus Leonini, I know not wherefore (for a Lion's tail doth not answer to the middle parts as these Verses do) began in the time of Carolus Magnus, and were only in request then, and in many Ages following, which delighted in nothing more than in this minstrelsie of Meeters. I could present you with many of them, but few shall suffice, when as there are but few now which delight in them.

In the praise of Miles, Earl of Hereford, in the time of King Stephen, was this penned, in respect he was both martial and lettered.

"Vatum & ducum gloria
Milo, cujus in pectore
Certant vires & studia,
Certat Hector cum Nestore.
Virtutum privilegia
Mente geris & corpore,
Teque coronat arbore
Mars Phœbi, Phœbus propria."

Walter de Mapes, Archdeacon of Oxford,¹ who in the time of King Henry the Second filled England with his merriments, confessed his love to good liquor, with the causes, in this manner :

"Mihi est propositum in taberna mori,
Vinum sit appositum morientis ori :
Ut dicant, cum venerint, Angelorum chori,
Deus sit propitius huic potatori."

¹ "The Latin Poems of Walter de Mapes," edited by Thos. Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., have been published by the Camden Society.

"Poculis accenditur animi lucerna,
Cor imbutum nectare volat ad superna.
Mihi sapit dulcius vinum in taberna,
Quàm quod aqua miscuit præfulis pincerna.

"Suum cuique proprium dat natura munus,
Ego nunquam potui scribere jejunos :
Me jejunos vincere posset puer unus.
Sitim & jejunium, odi tanquam funus.

"Unicuique proprium dat natura donum,
Ego versus faciens, vinum bibo bonum,
Et quod habent melius dolia cauponum,
Tale vinum generat copiam sermonum.

"Tales versus facio, quale vinum bibo,
Nihil possum scribere, nisi sumpto cibo,
Nihil valet penitus, quod jejunos scribo,
Nafonem post calices carmine præibo.

"Mihi nunquam spiritus prophetiæ datur,
Nisi tunc cum fuerit venter bene saturs ;
Cum in arce cerebri Bacchus dominatur,
In me Phœbus irruit, ac miranda faturs."

The infirmity and corruption of our nature, prone to sensuality, he acknowledgeth thus :

"Via lata gradior more juventutis,
Implico me vitiis, immemor virtutis,
Voluptatis avidus, magis quam salutis,
Mortuus in anima, curam gero cutis.

"Mihi cordis gravitas, res videtur gravis,
Jocus est amabilis, dulciorque favis ;
Quicquid Venus imperat, labor hic est suavis,
Quæ nunquam in mentibus habitat ignavis.

"Quis in igne positus igni non uratur ?
Quis in mundo demorans castus habeatur ?
Ubi Venus digito juvenes venatur,
Oculis illaqueat, facie prædatur."

This lusty Priest, when the Pope forbade the Clergy their wives, became Proctor for himself and them, with these verses : desiring only for his fee, that

every Priest with his sweet-heart would say a Pater noster for him :

" Prisciani regula penitus cassatur,
Sacerdos per *Hic* & *Hæc* olim declinatur.
Sed per *Hic* solummodo nunc articulatur,
Cum per nostrum præfulem *Hæc* amoveatur.

" Ita quidem presbyter coepit allegare.
Peccat criminaliter, qui vult separare,
Quod Deus injunxerat, sceminam amare.
Tales dignum duximus, fures appellare.

" O quam dolor anxius, quam tormentum grave,
Nobis est dimittere quoniam suave !
O Romane pontifex, statuisti pravè,
Ne in tanto crimine moriaris, cave.

" Non est Innocentius, immo nocens vere,
Qui quod factò docuit, studet abolere :
Et quod olim juvenis voluit habere,
Modo vetus pontifex studet prohibere.

" Gignere nos præcipit vetus Testamentum :
Ubi novum prohibet, nusquam est inventum.
Præful qui contrarium donat documentum,
Nullum necessarium his dat argumentum.

" Dedit enim Dominus maledictionem
Viro qui non fecerit generationem.
Ergo tibi confulo, per hanc rationem,
Gignere, ut habeas benedictionem.

" Næne de militibus milites procedunt ?
Et reges à regibus qui sibi succedunt ?
Per locam à simili, omnes jura lædunt
Clericos qui gignere crimen esse credunt.

" Zacharias habuit prolem & uxorem,
Per virum quem genuit adeptus honorem :
Baptizavit enim nostrum Salvatorem :
Pereat, qui teneat novum hunc errorem.

" Paulus cœlos rapitur ad superiores,
Ubi multas didicit res secretiores,
Ad nos tandem rediens, instruensque mores,
Suas (inquit) habeat quilibet uxores.

" Propter hæc & alia dogmata doctorum,
Reor esse melius, & magis decorum,

Quisque suam habeat & non proximorum,
Non incurrat odium & iram eorum.

"Proximorum foeminas, filias & neptes
Violare nefas est, quare nil disceptes,
Verò tuam habeas, & in hac delectes,
Diem ut sic ultimum tutius expectes.

"Ecce jam pro clericis multum allegavi,
Nec non pro presbyteris plura comprobavi,
Pater Noster nunc pro me quoniam peccavi,
Dicat quisque presbyter, cum sua suavi."

Merry Michæl the Cornish Poet,¹ whose Rythmes for merry England you may read in the ninth page, begged his exhibition of King Henry the Third with this Distich :

* Money
my honey.

"Regie rector, miles ut Hector, dux ut Achilles,
Te quia sector, melleo vector,* mel mihi stillas."

The same Michæl, highly offended with Henry of Aurench, the King's Poet, for disgracing Cornwall, thought to draw blood of him with these bobbing Rythmes.

"Est tibi gamba capri, crus passeris, & latus apri,
Os leporis, catuli nasus, dens & gena muli,
Frons vetulæ, tauri caput, & color undiq; Mauri :
His argumentis quænam est argutia mentis ?
Quod non à monstro differs, satis hic tibi monstro."

If you please to hear a solemn Plea at Reason's bar between the Eye and the Heart, run over this, which a Country man of ours made in the time of King Henry the Third.

"Quisquis cordis & oculi
Non sentit in se jurgia,
Non novit qui sunt stimuli,
Quæ culpæ seminaria.

Causam nescit periculi,
Cur alternant convitia,

¹ See *ante*, p. 9.

Cur procaces & æmuli
Replicent in se vitia.

“Cor sic affatur oculum,
Te peccati principium,
Te fontem, te stimulum,
Te mortis voco nuntium.

“Tu domus meæ janitor,
Hosti non claudis ostium,
Familiaris proditor
Admittis adversarium.

“Nonne fenestra diceris
Quod mors intrat ad animam,
Nonne quod vides sequeris
Ut bos ductus ad victimam?

“Saltem fordes quas ingeris;
Cur non lavas per lachrymam?
Aut quare non erueris
Mentem fermentans azymam?

“Cordi respondet oculus,
Injuste de me quereris,
Servus sum tibi sedulus,
Exequor quicquid iusseris.

“Nonne tu mihi præcipis,
Sicut & membris cæteris?
Non ego, tu te decipis,
Nuntius sum quò tu miseris.

“Cur damnatur apertio,
Corpori necessaria,
Sine cuius obsequio,
Cuncta languent officia?

“Quo si fiat ereptio,
Cum sum fenestra pervia,
Si quod recepi nuntio,
Quæ putatur injuria?

“Addo quod nullo pulvere
Quem immitto pollueris,
Nullum malum te lædere
Potest, nisi consenseris.

“De corde mala prodeunt,
Nihil invitum pateris,
Virtutes non intereunt,
Nisi culpam commiseris.

"Dum sic uterque disputat
Solutio pacis osculo :
Ratio litem amputat
Definitivo calculo.

"Utrumque reum reputat,
Sed non pari periculo,
Nam cordi causam imputat,
Occasionem oculo."

Dan Elingham, a Monk of Linton, of Saint Benedict's order, coming to the White-fryers in Nottingham, found there John Baptist painted in a white Fryers weed, whereat marvailing, he coaled out these rithms upon the wall near to the picture :

"Christi Baptista, vestis non te decet ista,
Qui te vestivit fratrem, maledictus abivit.
Nunquam Messias frater fuerat, nec Helias,
Non stat plebs læta, dum sit pro fratre propheta.
Si fratrem Jonam fingis, Geezi tibi ponam :
Ac Jebusæum, ne jungas his Helisæum."

But a white Frier there answered Elingham, with these following in the person of John Baptist :

"Elingham mentiris, metris fatuis quoque miris,
Atque ea quæ nescis sic astruis ut ea quæ scis :
Nam Deus est testis, decet hæc me candida vestis,
Plurquam te vestis pulla, sive nigra cuculla.
Sum Carmelita meritò, sed tu Geezita.
Ac frater fictus Benedicti, non benedictus."

He which made this, when King Edward the First and the Pope concurred in exacting a payment from the Clergy, should have smarted had he been known :

"Ecclesiæ navis titubat, regni quia clavis
Errat : Rex, Papa facti sunt unica capa :
Hoc faciunt do, des, Pilatus hic, alter Herodes."

Salomon, a Jew, fell into a Jakes at Tewxbury upon a Saturday ; a Christian offered to pull him

out, but he refused, because it was the Sabbath day of the Jews, whereupon the Christian would not suffer him to be drawn out upon the Sunday, being the Sabbath of the Christians, and there he lay. This was then briefly expressed Dialogue-wise between the Christian and him in these rhythming Verses :

"Tende manus Salomon, ego te de stercore tollam :
Sabbata nostra colo, de stercore surgere nolo.
Sabbata nostra quidem Salomon celebrabis ibidem."

A merry learned Lawyer which had received Wine for a reward, or remembrance, from the Abbot of Merton, who had entertained him in a cause, sent these two Verses, as standing upon his integrity against bribes, and requiring rather good evidence than good Wine.

"Vinum transmissum nunc me facit esse remissum,
Convivis vina, causis tua jura propina."

The Abbot, which perswaded himself what would move the Lawyer when Wine could not, returned these three Distichs :

"Tentavi temere vino te posse movere,
Non movi verè, sed fortè moveberis aere.

"Vinum non quæris, sed tinnit si sonus æris,
Et spe duceris, forsitan alter eris.

"Ut mihi sis mitis, tibi misi pocula vitis,
Nec tamen illa fitis definit, unde fitis."

King Edward the Third, when he first quartered the Arms of France with England, declared his claim in this kind of verse, thus :

"Rex sum regnorum bina ratione duorum,
Anglorum regno sum Rex ego jure paterno,
Matris jure quidem Francorum nuncupor idem.
Hinc est Armorum variatio facta meorum."

These following were made by his Poet, when Philip de Valoys, the French King, lurked in Cambray, and so well liked of him that he swore by Saint George they were valiant Verses; and commanded them to be shot upon an arrow into the City, as a cartel of challenge.

“ Si valeas, venias Valoys, depelle timorem,
Non lateas, pateas, maneat, ostende vigorem.”

In the Chapter house of York Minster is written this in commendation thereof.

“ Ut rosa flos florum, sic est domus ista domorum.”

The Exchequer officers were extortours in the time of King Henry the 4, otherwise Henry Bell, Collectour of the Custome, (as he stiled himself at that time), would never have written a riming long Satyre against them, which beginneth thus:

“ O Scacci Camera, locus est mirabilis ille.
Ut referam vera, tortores sunt ibi mille.
Si contingat ibi temet quid habere patrandum,
Certe dico tibi cœtum reperire nefandum.”

And concludeth in this manner:

“ O sic vexate tortoribus & cruciate,
Non dices verè propter tales Miserere.”

But this is good advice, which he giveth to such as have to deal with the officers of the Receipt:

“ Qui tallus scribunt, cum murmure sæpe loquuntur,
Summas quique solent in magna scribere pelle.
Scribere valdè dolent, dùm non sit solvere bellè,
Efcas manè datas propter jentacula pones,
Costas affatas, pisces, pinguesque capones,
Illos conforta pariter per fortia vina,
Westminster porta, pro talibus est medicina.”

Now for the Fleet then, he writeth thus:

"Cum sis in Fleta, patieris mille molesta,
Illic dona dabis, si fanus vis fore puncto ;
Nam custos Fletæ bona de prifonibus unit,
Ni folvant læte mox hos per vincula punit :
Illis qui baculos portant, oftendere debes
Valde pios loculos, & ludere præbeo, præbes."

In the time of King Henry the 4, when in leavy-
ing of a Subfidy the rich would not, and the poor
could not pay, fo they of the meaner fort bare the
burthen, a skilful dicer, and no unskilful rimer wrote
these verfes :

"Dews Ace non poffunt, & Sice Sinke folvere nolunt :
Eft igitur notum, Cater Tre folvere totum."

Of the decay of gentry one made these rithms :

"Ex quo nobilitas fervilia coepit amare,
Nobilitas coepit cum fervis degenerare."


Many more and of great variety of metres in this
kind I could prefent you withal, for these rithmers
have as curious obfervations in their Arte Rithmi-
zandi, as the Italian makers, in their Stanzas,
Quartetts, Tercetts, Octaves ; but now they are
counted long-eared which delight in them.

Befide these, our Poets have their knacks, as
young Scholars call them, as Echos, Achrostichs,
Serpentine Verfes, Recurrents, Numerals, &c. ;
yea, and our prose Authours could use Achrostics,
for Ranulph of Chester began the first Chapter of
his Polychronicon with P, the second with R, the
third with E, the fourth with S, the fifth with N,
and fo forth, as if you would spell the first Chapters
of his Book, you shall find "Præsentem Chronicam
compilavit Ranulphus Monachus Cestrenfis." And
why not as well as Agapetus the Greek, who did
the like in his admonitions to Justinian the Em-
perour.

But I will end with this of Odo, holding Master Doctour's Mule, and Anne with her Table-cloth, which cost the Maker much foolish labour, for it is a perfect Verse, and every word is the very same both backward and forward.

"Odo tenet mulum, madidam mappam tenet Anna.
Anna tenet mappam madidam, mulum tenet Odo."

IMPRESSES.

N Impres (as the Italians call it) is a device in Picture with his Motto, or Word, born by Noble and Learned Personages, to notifie some particular conceit of their own, as Emblems (that we may omit other differences) do Propound some general instruction to all; as, for example, whereas Cosmi Medici, Duke of Florence, had in the ascendent at his Nativity the sign Capricorn, under which also Augustus and Charles the Fifth, two great and good Princes were born, he used the celestial sign Capricorn, with this Motto, "Fidem sati virtute sequemur," for his Impres, particularly concerning his good hope to prove like unto them. But a fair Woman pictured with an Olive Crown representing Peace, carrying in one hand the horn of Plenty, leading a little golden boy for Plutus in the other, with "Ex pace rerum opulentia," is an Emblem, and a general document to all that Peace bringeth Plenty.

There is required in an Impres (that we may reduce them to few heads) a correspondency of the picture which is as the body; and the Motto, which as the soul giveth it life. That is, the body must

be of fair representation, and the word in some different language, witty, short, and answerable thereunto ; neither too obscure, nor too plain, and most commended when it is an Hemistich, or parcel of a verse.

According to these prescripts, neither the stars with the Moon in Tideus' shield in Æschilus ; neither Amphiarus' Dragon in Pindar ; neither the stem of the ship used for a seal by Pompey, can have here place ; much less the reverses in Roman Coyns, which were only historical memorials of their acts, as that of Claudius, with a plow-man at plow, and this " Col. Camalodun," was to signify that he made Maldon in Essex a Colony, and that of Hadrian with an Emperour, three souldiers, and " Exerc. Britannicus," was in memory of some good service by the three Legions resiant in this Isle at York, Chester, and Car-leon upon Uske. That also of Severus, with a woman sitting upon Clifses, holding an ensign in one hand, and as it were writing upon a shield, with " Victoria Britannica," was only to shew his victories here.

Britannia
Camdeni.

Such also as are set down in " Notitia Provinciarum," as a Boor seiant for Jovii ; a circle party per Saltier for Britanniciani ; a carbuncle (as Blazoners term it) for Britannici, &c. cannot be admitted into the number of Impresses, for they were the several ensigns of several military Companies, whereof the two last seemed to be levied out of this Isle.

Childish it is to refer hither the shields of King Arthur's round-table Knights, when they were devised, as it is probable, for no other end but to teach young men the terms of Blazon.

Neither are Arms to be referred hither which were devised to distinguish Families, and were most

usual among the nobility in wars, tilts and tournaments in their Coats, called Coat-armours, Shields, Standards, Banners, Pennors, Guydons, until about some hundred years since, when the French and Italian, in the expedition of Naples under Charles the eighth, began to leave Arms—haply, for that many of them had none—and to bear the Curtains of their Mistresses' Beds, their Mistresses' Colours, or these Impresses in their banners, shields, and carparifons, in which the English have imitated them: and, albeit a few have borrowed somewhat from them, yet many have matched them, and no few surpassed them in witty conceit, as you shall perceive hereafter if you will first give me leave to remember some imperfect Devices in this kind of some former Kings of England, which you may well say to be liveless bodies, for that they have no word adjoyned.

Of King William the Conquerour I have heard none, neither dare (as Jovius taketh the Sphinx on Augustus' signet for an Impress) to set down our Conquerour's Seal, which had his own picture on horseback, with these verses to notifie his Dominions:—

"Hoc Normannorum Willelmum nosce patronum."

On the other side—

"Hoc Anglis Regem signo fatearis eundem."

As a King of Sicily had, about that time, this—

"Apulus, & Calaber, Siculus mihi servit & Afer."

Stephen of Bloys, the Usurper, took the sign Sagittarius, for that he obtained this Kingdom when the Sun was in the said sign.

King Henry the second, grievously molested by the disobedience of his four sons, who entred int

actual rebellion against him, caused to be painted in his great Chamber at his palace in Winchester an Eagle with four young chickens, whereof three pecked and scratched him, the fourth picked at his eyes. This his device had no life, because it had no Motto; but his answer gave it life when he said to one demanding his meaning, "That they were his sons which did so peck him, and that John, the youngest, whom he loved best, practised his death more busily than the rest." [Giraldus Cambrensis distinct.]

King Henry the third, as liking well of Remuneration, commanded to be written in his Chamber at Woodstock, as it appeareth in the Records in the Tower—

"Qui non dat quod amat, non accipit ille quod optat."

Edmund Crouch-backe, his second son, first Earl of Lancaster, used a red Rose, wherewith his Tomb at Westminster is adorned.

Edward the third bare for his device the rays of the Sun dispersing themselves out of a cloud, and in other places a golden trunk of a tree.

The victorious Black Prince, his son, used sometimes one Feather, sometimes three, in token, as some say, of his speedy execution in all his services, as the Posts in the Roman times were Pterophori, and wore feathers to signifie their flying post-haste. But the truth is, that he wonne them at the battel of Cressy from John, King of Bohemia, whom he there slew; whereunto he adjoyned this old English word, "Ic dien," that is, "I serve:" according to that of the Apostle, "The heir, while he is a child, differeth nothing from a servant." These feathers were an ancient ornament of military men,

Thegn.

and used for Creafts, as it is evident by that of Virgil—

“Cujus olorinæ surgunt de vertice pennæ;”

and were used by this Prince before the time of Canoy Chan, the Tartarian, who, because his life was saved by an Owl, would have his people wear their feathers; from whom Haithon fableth that the people of Europe received first the use of feathers.

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, brother to this Prince, took a red Rose to his device (as it were by right of his first wife, the heir of Lancaster), as Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, took the white Rose. Before these two brethren took these two Roses, which the fautors and followers of their heirs after bare in that pitiful distraction of England between the families of Lancaster and York, a white Rose-tree at Longleete bare upon one branch a fair white rose on the one side, and as fair a red rose on the other, which might as well have bin a fore-token of that division, as the white Hen with the bay-sprig lighting in the lap of Livia Augusta, betokened the Empire to her posterity; which ended in Nero, when both the brood of that hen failed, and the bays of that sprig withered.

The said Edmund of Langley bare also for an Impress a Faulcon in a fetter-lock, implying that he was locked up from all hope and possibility of the Kingdom, when his brethren began to aspire thereunto. Whereupon he asked on a time his sons, when he saw them beholding this device set up in a window, what was Latin for a fetter-lock; whereat, when the young gentlemen studied, the father said, “Well, if you cannot tell me, I will tell you: *Hic, hæc, hoc, taceatis*,” as advising them to be silent and quiet, and therewithal said,

"Yet God knoweth what may come to pass hereafter." This his great Grandchild, King Edward the fourth, reported when he commanded that his younger son Richard, Duke of York, should use this device with the fetter-lock opened, as Roger Wall, an Herald of that time, reporteth.

King Richard the second, whose untrained youth and yielding lenity hastned his fall, used commonly a white Hart couchant with a Crown, and chain about his neck; for wearing the which some, after his deposition, lost their lives. He also used a pescod branch, with the cods open, but the pease out, as it is upon his Robe in his Monument at Westminster.

His wife Anne, sister of Wincelaus, the Emperor, bare an Ostrich with a nail in his beak.

King Henry the fourth (as it is in Master Garter's book) used a Fox tail dependent, following Lyfander's advice, if the Lyon's skin were too short, to piece it out with a Foxes case.

His half-brethren, surnamed Beaufort, of Beaufort in France (which came to the house of Lancaster by Blanch of Artois, wife to Edmund, first Earl of Lancaster), and who after were Dukes of Sommerfet, &c., bare a Portcullis gold; whereunto, not long afterward, was added this word—"Altera securitas." And not long since, by the Earls of Worcester, issued from them, "Mutare aut timere sperno."

His younger son Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, a noble fautor of good letters, bare in that respect a Laurel branch in a golden cup.

That most martial Prince, King Henry the fifth, carried a burning Cresset, sometime a Beacon; and for his word (but not appropriate thereunto), "Une sans plus—" One and no more."

King Henry the sixth had two feathers in saltier.

King Edward the fourth bare his white Rose, the fetter-lock before specified, and the Sun after the battel of Mortimer's crofs, where three Suns were feen immediately conjoyning in one.

King Richard the third bare a white Boar, which gave occafion to the rime that coft the maker his life:—

“The Cat, the Rat, and Lovell the Dog
Rule all England under a Hog.”

King Henry the feventh, in refpect of his defcent from the houfe of Somerfet, ufed the Portcullis before mentioned, and, in refpect of the union of the two houfes of Lancafter and York by his marriage, the white Rose united with the red, fome-time placed in the Sun. And in refpect he was crowned in the field with King Richard's crown, found in an hawthorn bufh, he bare the hawthorn bufh with the crown in it; and with this he filled the windows at Richmond, and his chappel at Weftminfter.

His wife Queen Elizabeth had a white and red rofe knit together.

His mother, Lady Margaret, Countefs of Richmond, had three white Dafies growing upon a turf.

When King Henry the eighth began his reign, the Englifh wits began to imitate the French and Italian in thefe devices, adding the Mots. Firft King Henry himfelf, at the interview between him and King Francis the firft, whereat alfo Charles the fifth was prefent, ufed for his Imprefs an Englifh Archer in a green coat, drawing his arrow to the head, with this infcription, “Cui adhæreo, præeft:” when as at that time thofe mighty Princes, banding one again the other, wrought him for their own particular.

His fecond wife, Queen Anne, a happy moth-

of England's happiness by her most happy daughter, bare a white crowned Faulcon, holding a Scepter in her right talon, standing upon a golden trunk, out of the which sprouted both white and red roses, with "Mihi et meæ."

To the honour of Queen Jane, who died willingly to save her child, King Edward bare a Phoenix in his funeral-fire, with this Motto, "Nascatur ut alter."

King Edward the sixth bare (as the black-Prince) three feathers in a Crown while his Father survived, as Prince of Wales, with "Ic dien." Albeit he was never created.

Queen Mary when she was Princess used both a red and white Rose, and a Pomegranate knit together, to shew her descent from Lancaster, York, and Spain. When she came to the Kingdom, by perswasion of her Clergy, she bare winged Time drawing Truth out of a pit, with "Veritas temporis filia."

Her Successor (of blessed memory) Queen Elizabeth, upon occasions, used so many heroical devices, as would require a volume ; but most commonly a Sive without a Mot, for her words, "Video, taceo," and "Semper eadem," which she as truly and constantly performed.

Cardinal Poole shewed the terrestrial globe incompaffed with a Serpent, adding this out of St. Mathew, "Estote prudentes."

Now I will descend from the blood Royal and former time, and present unto you a few Impresses used by noble and gentlemen of our nation, in our age, without commenting upon them, as the Italians use. For the persons' names I am to be pardoned, as knowing them not, when I observed them at Tilts

and elfewhere : But fuch as adjoynd, after the old and moft laudable Italian manner, their Arms withal.

He fignified his conftancy in adverfity, which painted a man swimming and ftriving againft the fream in a tempeftuous fea, with this, "*Animus tamen idem.*"

Defirous was he to rife, but found counterblafts, who figured a man afcending a mountain, but repell'd with contrary winds, with this Motto, "*Nitens ad fumma repellor.*"

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, Son and Heir to Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, devifed for himfelf, I know not upon what confideration, a broken pillar with this word, "*Sat fupereft.*" But I read he was charged at his arraignment with that device, the impaling of his Arms with the Arms of Saint Edward, and erecting three Banquetting houfes, as Baftilions in his Garden near Norwich, as matters of great confequence and high treafon, to the lofs of his life. This is that noble Earl of Surrey, who firft among the Nobility of England, conjoynd the honour of Learning to the honour of high Parentage. Of whom the learned Hadrianus Junius giveth this testimony in Latine, which I cannot fo well exprefs in Englifh. "*Heroicum corporis filum, ingenium velox, & expromptum, memoria inexhaufa, pleneque Mythridatica, fermo ab ipsis Gratiis effectus, linguarum multiplex cognitio,*" &c.

He would either find a way or make a way to his preferment, which caufed to be pourtrayed a hand working out a way in a craggy hill with a pick-axe, and this word, "*Invenit, aut facit.*"

Sir Philip Sydney, to note that he perfifted always one, depainted out the Cafpian Sea furrounded with his fhores, which neither ebbeth nor floweth, and over it, "*Sine refluxu.*"

He acknowledged his effence to be in his gracious Sovereign, which bare a Sun-dial, and the Sun setting, adding, "*Occasu defines esse.*"

He might seem to bear a vindicative mind, but I think it was for some amorous affection, which bare a flie upon an eye, with "*Sic ultus peream.*"

Upon his Prince's favour he wholly relyed, which devised the Sun shining upon a bush, subscribing, "*Si deferis pereo.*"

As he which in like sence bare the Sun reflecting his raies from him, with "*Quousque avertes?*"

His devout mind to his Lady he devoutly, though not religiously shewed, which under Venus in a cloud changed the usual prayer into "*Salva me Domina.*"

He shewed his affectionate good-will in height of courage, that shewed in his shield Atlas bearing Heaven with a roul inscribed in Italian, "*Intendam chi puo.*"

The force of love was well figured by him that gave an Unicorn (haply the badg of his Family) reposing his head in a Ladies lap, with this word, "*O quanta potentia.*"¹

Excellent was that of the late Earl of Effex, who, when he was cast down with sorrow, and yet to be employed in Arms, bare a black mourning shield without any Figure, but inscribed, "*Par nulla figura dolori.*"

A stedfast setled mind was in that Gentleman,

¹ Camden seems to have forgotten the popular recipe:—How to catch a unicorn: "A mayde is set," says Gerard Legh, "where he haunteth, and she openeth her lappe, to whome the Vnicorne, as seeking rescue from the force of the hunter, yeldeth his head, and leaveth all his fiercenes, and resting himselfe vnder her protection sleapeth, vntyll he is taken and slayne.—*Accedens of Armory*, p. 90, edit. 1562.

that devised for himself a Pyramis open to wind and weather, with "*Nec flatu, nec fluctu.*"

He noted our peaceable times which, having a Martial mind, shewed an armed Knight soundly sleeping in a cock-boat upon a calm Sea, with "*Æquora tuta silent.*"

He played with the name, and hoped remedy to his Love, which devised a Rose, with that of Ovid (leaving out the Negative), "*Amor est medicabilis herbis.*"

A Gentleman committed, and after with his great commendation enlarged, took to him for an Impres, a Ball upon a Racket, superscribing, "*Percussa refurgo.*"

The Sun declining to the West, with "*Occidens, Occidens,*" *I* being short in the first word, and long in the second, shewed that the safety and life both of the bearer and of others did depend on the light and life of the Sovereign.

A studious lover of good letters framed to himself only the figure of *I*, with this philosophical principle, "*Omnia ex uno.*"

Out of Philosophy likewise another, to notifie his greatest impeachment, drew this principle, "*Ex nihilo nihil:*" and inscribed it bend-wise, with his Arms in a bare shield.

One weighed down with some adverse hap, and yet not altogether hopeles, painted an heavy stone fastned to a man's arm, with "*Spes mihi magna tamen.*"

Neither seemed he void of all hope for his pains after long service, which painted a fallow field with "*At quando messis?*"

The Needle in the Sea-Compass still moving, but to the North point only, with "*Moveor immotus,*" notified the respective constancy of the Gentleman to one only.

The ornament of our Land was meant by him which placed only the Moon in Heaven in full light with "*Quid sine te coelum?*"

Far was he from Venus' service which bare Venus pourtrayed in a Cloud with "*Nihil minus.*"

But wholly devoted was he to that Goddeſs, which contrariwiſe bare the Aſtronomical character of Venus, with "*Nihil magis.*"

The ſucceſſive variety of worldly affairs, or his own favours, a ſtudious Gentleman well noted, which painted in an Hemisphere ſome Stars riſing, ſome ſetting, with "*Surguntque caduntque viciffim.*"

His whole truſt reſoſed that good Divine in God which, after ſome adverſities, ſet upon a Rock beaten with wind and weather, to expreſs his ſtate yet ſtanding, with "*Deo juvante, Deo conſervante.*"

Heavenly cogitations were in him, who only figured a man kneeling, with his hands liſted up to the Heavens, with this inſcribed, "*Suprema optima mundi.*"

A very good invention was that to ſhew his ſtay and ſupport by a Virgin Prince, who preſented in his ſhield the Zodiack, with the Characters only of Leo and Virgo, and this word, "*His ego præſidiis.*"

It may be thought that he noted deſerts to be everywhere excluded, and meer hap to raiſe moſt men, who inſcribed within a Laurel Garland, "*Fato non merito.*"

A laſh Tongue might ſeem to have damnified the Gentleman, which took for his device a Landſkip, as they call it, and ſolitary Mountains, with "*Toti montes, tutum ſilentium.*"

He had no great care to expreſs his conceit in an Impreſs, which nevertheleſs he did expreſs, which bare a White Shield inſcribed, "*Nec cura nec character.*"

No Knight of Venus was he who, as triumphing over her force, bare her Son (winged Cupid) in a Net, with "*Qui capit capitur.*"

The Star called *Spica Virginis*, one of the fifteen which are accounted to be of the first magnitude among the Astronomers, with a scrole inwritten, "*Mihi vita Spica Virginis,*" declared thereby haply that he had that Star in the Ascendent at his Nativity, or rather that he lived by the gracious favour of a Virgin Prince.

One in our Sea-faring Age adventuring himself and all he had to the Seas, proposing no certain arrival to himself, made a Ship with full sail in the Sea, and superscribed, "*Pontus in ignoto.*"

His mind mounted above the mean, which devised for himself one that had clambred much more than half the way of a steep Mountain, adding this word near him, "*Dixerunt fatui,*" omitting the other part of the Verse, "*Medium tenuere beati.*"

Likewise he hoped to attain the heighth of his desire, which made one climbing to the middle of a Pyramis, with "*Huc spe,*" by him, and "*illic spes*" above him.

Another also, which climbed in his conceit, but, as it seemeth, fearing a fall, made a man upon the upper degrees of a Ladder, with this Motto adjoynd, "*Non quo sed unde cado.*"

He referred Fate, Fortune, and all to his Sovereign, which drew for himself the twelve Houses of Heaven in the form which Astrologians use, setting down neither Sign nor Planet therein, but only placing over it this word, "*Dispone.*"

The like reference had he which only used a white Shield, and therein written, "*Fatum inscribat Eliza.*"

It may be doubtful whether he affected his Sove-

reign, or Justice more zealously, which made a man hovering in the Air, with "*Feror ad astræam.*"

You may easily conjecture what he conceived who, in his Shield, reared an Oare with a sail fastened thereunto, adding, "*Fors et virtus miscentur in unum.*"

Full of loving affection was he to his Lady which bare a Rose upon his pricking branch, with "*Abigique trahitque.*"

With many a blustering blast he seemed to have been tossed which painted an Horizon, with all the Cardinal and collateral winds blowing, and in the midst "*Rapiuntque feruntque.*"

As to the honour of Magellanus (whose Ship first passed round about the World, though he mis-carried) was devised the terrestrial Globe, with "*Tu primus circumdedisti me.*" So our Sir Francis Drake, who fortunately effected the same, had devised for him a Globe terrestrial, upon the height whereof is a Ship under sail, trained about the Globe with two golden halfers, by direction of an hand out of a Cloud, and a Dragon volant upon the hatches, regarding the direction with these words, "*Auxilio divino.*"

An Imprefs, too, perplexed and unfitting for so worthy a man, who, as one said to him most excellently in this Distich:—

"Plus ultra, Herculeis inscribas, Drake, columnis,
Et magno dicas Hercule major ego."

A man very worthy to be eternized by some good pen, as also his servant John Oxenham, who, arriving with seventy men in the straight of Dariena in America, drew a land his Ship, and, hiding it with boughs, marched over the Land with his Company, guided by Negroes, until he came to a River, where

he cut Wood, made him a Pinnace, entered the South Sea, went to the Island of Pearls, layd there ten days, intercepted in two Spanish Ships sixty thousand weight of gold and one hundred thousand in Bars of silver, returned safely to the main Land ; but through the mutiny of his Souldiers he miscarried, and, as the Poet saith, "*Magnis excidit aufis*," in an adventure never attempted by any, and therefore not to be forgotten, when as the Lopez, a Spaniard, hath recorded it, not without admiration, as you may see in the Discoveries of the learned and industrious Mr. Richard Hackluit : but pardon this digression occasioned by the memory of Sir Fr. Drake.

It seemed a difficulty unto him to live rightly, either in liberty or bondage, which painted one Greyhound, coursing, with "*In libertate labor*," and another, tied to a tree, gazing on the game, with "*In servitute dolor*."

I cannot imagine what he meant which took for his devise a small brook, passing along the Lands mildly till it came to a dam, and there rising and raging, overflowed the lands, with "*Magis magisque*" written in the place overflowed, unless he would give us to understand that, the more his affections were stopped, the more they were stirred.

He which took a man armed at all points, with "*Me et meum*," while he shewed a resolution in his own behalf, forgat God ; and that of King Henry the Eighth, "*Dieu et mon droit*" ("God and my right").

In the Impresses of Ruscelli I find that Sir Richard Shelley, Knight of S. John's, used a White Faulcon, with this Spanish Motto, "*Feyfid al gula*," *id est*, "Faith and gentleness," which Falcon he quartered in his Arms by the name of Michelgrove, as they say.

Whereas the Laurel, sacred to Learning, is never hurt by lightning, and therefore the Cock resorteth thereunto in tempests, as natural Historians testify ; he seemeth studious of good learning, and fearful of danger, which caused to be painted for him a Cock under a Laurel, with "*Sic evitabile fulmen.*"

An amorous affection was only noted in him which set down an eye in an heart, with "*Vulnus alo.*"

He also held one course, and levelled at one mark, which made a River in a long tract disgorging himself into the Sea, with "*Semper ad mare.*"

He doubted not to find the right course by indirect means, which did set down a spherical crooked pair of Compasses, with "*Per obliqua Recta.*"

He proposed to himself honour in Martial service which made a Trophée, or trunk of a Tree, with Harness and Abilllements of War, and a Sepulchre not far off, adding underneath, "*Aut spoliis lætemur opimis.*" Omitting that which followeth in Virgil, "*Aut letho insigni.*"

A wary man would he seem, and careful for his own, which shewed a Village on fire, with "*Jam proximus ardet.*"

Tyred might he seem with Law-delays, or such-like suits, which devised for himself a tottering Ship with torn sails driven up and down, with "*Jam septima portat.*" You know what followeth: "*Omnibus errantem terris & fluctibus ætas.*"

In the beginning of her late Majesties Reign, one, upon happy hope conceived, made an half of the Zodiack, with Virgo rising, adding, "*Jam redit et Virgo,*" suppressing the words following, "*Re-deunt Saturnia regna.*"

Variety, and vicissitude of human things, he seemed to shew which parted his shield, "*Per*"

Pale, Argent & Sables," and counterchangeably writ in the Argent, "Ater," and in the Sables, "Albus."

He elegantly shewed by whom he was drawn which depainted the Nautical Compass, with "Aut magnes, aut magna."

Another, ascribing his life and all to his Lady, pictured a Tree near a Spring, and at the root thereof, "Quod vivam, tuum."

He shewed himself to be a Martial, and a Mercurial man, which bare a Sword in one hand and a Bay in the other, with "Arti et marti."

It might seem a craving Imprefs which set nothing but Ciphers down in a roul, with "Adde vel unum."

Likewise he which set down the nine numeral figures, with "Adde, vel adime."

His meaning might be perceived out of the last Eclogue of Virgil, containing Gallus's loving Lamentations, which portraied a Tree, and the Bark engraved E, adding this word, "Crescetis."

Studious in Alchymy might he seem, or in some abstruse Art which he could not find out, which shewed for his device only a golden branch, with "Latet arbore opaca."

He seemed not to respect hopeful tokens without good effects, which made a Ship sinking, and the Rainbow appearing, with "Quid tu, si pereo."

I know one which, overcome with a predominant humour, was so troubled with a fanciful vain cogitation that no counsel or company could withdraw him from it, figured a man with a shadow projected before him, with this word, "It comes."

A Gentleman Scholar, drawn from the University, where he was well liked, to the Court, for which in respect of his bashful modesty he was not fit, painted a red Coral branch, which while it grew in

the Sea was green, with this, "Nunc Rubeo, ante virebam."

Master Richard Carew, of Anthony, when he was in his tender years, devised for himself an Adamant upon an anvile, with a hand holding an hammer thereover, and this Italian Motto, "Cheverace durera:" which also contained his name Anagrammatically.

He seemed not to be sufficiently warmed, living in the Sun-shine of the Court, which framed for his device a Glafs of Parabolical concavity, or burning-glafs, as some call it, with the Sun shining over it, and a combustible matter kindled under it, with "Nec dum caleſco."

He doubted not but continual ſuit would mollifie his Miſtriſs' heart, which made an Eye dropping Tears upon an Heart, with "Sæpe cadendo."

He lacked but ſome gracious hand to effect ſome matter well forward, which made more than half a circle with a pair of compaſſes, the one foot fixed in the centre, the other in the circumference, placing thereby, "Adde manum."

His conceit was godly and correspondent to his name, who made an Hart in his race to a fountain, and over it, "Ut Cervus fontem," and under it, "Sic Abrahamus Chriſtum." The meaning is plain to all which know Scriptures, and I take the Gentleman's name to be Abraham Hartwel. The ſame Impreſs was uſed by Boromeo, the beſt Cardinal which I have heard of, but with this word, "Una ſalus."

When the Spaniards purpoſed the Invaſion, 1558, and their Navy was ſcattered to their confuſion by a Ship fired and carried among them by direction from her late Maſteſty, a Gentleman depainted that Navy in confuſion with a fired Ship approaching,

adding to Her Honour out of Virgil, "*Dux fœmina facti.*"

This calls another to my remembrance, which I have seen cast in silver, as concerning that matter, A great Navy upon the Sea near the South coast of England, with "*Venit, vidit, fugit:*" As that of Julius Cæsar, when he had overcome Pharnaces, "*Veni, vidi, vici.*"

About the time when some dislikes grew between the English and the States of the United Provinces, they, fearing that it might tend to the hurt of both, caused to be Imprinted two pitchers floating on the water upon a Medalia, with "*Si collidimur, frangimur.*"

In the like sence, there were coyned pieces with two Oxen drawing the plough, the one marked with a Rose for England, the other with a Lion on the shoulder for Holland, and written thereby, "*Tra-hite æquo jugo.*"

He measured himself with a mean, and seemed to rest content, which made a Tortois in his shell, with "*Mecum habito.*"

His conceit was obscure to me which painted a Savage of America pointing toward the Sun, with "*Tibi accessu, mihi decessu.*"

Sir Philip Sidney, who was a long time Heir apparent to the Earl of Leicefter, after the said Earl had a Son born to him, used at the next Tilt-day following "*Speravi*" dashed through, to shew his hope therein was dashed.

He signified himself to be revived with gracious favour which made the Sun shining upon a withered tree, but new blooming, with this, "*His radiis rediviva viresco.*"

The late Earl of Essex took a Diamond only amidst his Shield, with this about it, "*Dum formas*

minuis." Diamonds, as all know, are impaired while they are fashioned and pointed.

Sir Henry Lea, upon some Astrological consideration, used, to her late Majesties Honour, the whole constellation of Ariadne's Crown culminant in her Nativity, with this word, "Coelumque solumque beavit."

A settled conscience did he shew, which made a Halcyon hovering against the wind, with "Constans contraria spernit." The Fishers do say that when it is dead and hanged up it turneth the belly always to the wind.

He might seem to be in some hard distress which carried a Viper upon his hand, with this word overwritten, "Mors, vel morfus."

He might seem to reach at some of Vulcan's Orders which made a Buck casting his horns, with "Inermis deformis" over him, and under him, "Cur dolent habentes."

It was some loving conceit expressed by him, which bare two Torches, the one light, the other out, with "Extinguor a simili."

Another presenting himself at the Tilt, to shew himself to be but young in these services, and resolving of no one Impress, took only a white shield, as all they did in old time that had exploited nothing, and in the base point thereof made a painter's pencil and a little shell of colours, with this Spanish word, "Hazed meque quires," *id est*, "Make of me what you will."

At that time one bare a pair of scales, with fire in one balance and smoke in the other, thereby written, "Ponderare, errare."

The same day was born by another many flies about a candle, with "Sic splendiora petuntur."

In another shield (if I am not deceived) drops

fell down into a fire, and there-under was written, "Tamen non extinguenda."

The Sun in another shield did seem to cast his rayes upon a Star, partly over-shadowed with a cloud, and thereby was set down, "Tantum quantum."

A Letter, folded and sealed up, superscribed "Lege et relege," was born by another, and this last I refer to the Reader's consideration.

Confident was he in the goodness of his cause, and the Justice of our Land, who only pictured Justitia with her Ballance and Sword, and this being an Anagram of his Name, "Dum illa, evincam."

For whom also was devised by his learned Friend, Pallas's defensive Shield, with Gorgon's head thereon, in respect of his late Sovereign's most gracious Patronage of him, with this Anagrammatical word, "Nil malum cui Dea."

EPITAPHS.

GREAT hath been the care of burial even since the first times, as you may see by the examples of Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Joshua, the old Prophet in Bethel, and Tobie; and also by that in holy Scriptures: "Mortuo ne deneges gratiam." The Jews anointed the dead bodies, wrapped them in syndon, layed them in covered sepulchres hewed out of stone. The Egyptians embalmed and filled them with odoriferous spices, reserving them in glasse or coffins; the Assyrians in wax and honey; the Scythians carried about the cleansed carcases to the friends of the de-

ceased for forty days with solemn banquets. And that we may not particulate, the Romans so far exceed in funeral honours and ceremonies, with ointments, images, bonfires of most precious woods, sacrifices, and banquets, burning their dead bodies, until, about the time of Theodosius, that Laws were enacted to restrain the excess. Neither have any neglected burial, but some savage Nations, as Bactrians (which cast the dead to their dogs), some varlet Philosophers, as Diogenes, which desired to be devoured of fishes; some dissolute Courtiers, as Mecenas, who was wont to say :

Macro-
bius.

“Non tumulum curo, sepelit natura relictos.”

As another said :

“De terra in terram, & quævis terra sepulchrum.”

Yea, some of especial note amongst us, neglecting the last duty either upon a sparing or a precise humour, are content to commit to the Earth their Parents, Wives, and the nearest unto them *in tenebris*, with little better than *Sepulchra asinorum*. As for those which philosophically dislike monuments and memorials after their death, and those that affect them; I think, as Pliny did, speaking of Virginius and Apronius, that both of them do ambitiously march with like paces towards glory, but by divers ways; these openly, in that they desire due titles, those other covertly, in that they would seem carelessly to condemn them.

But among all funeral honours, Epitaphs have always been most respective, for in them love was shewed to the deceased; memory was continued to posterity, friends were comforted, and the reader put in mind of human frailty.

The invention of them proceeded from the presage or forefeeling of immortality implanted in all men

naturally, and is referred to the Scholars of Linus, who first bewailed their Master, when he was slain, in doleful verses, then called of him *Ælinum*, afterward *Epitaphia*, for that they were first sung at burials, after engraved upon the sepulchres.

It were needless to set down here the Laws of Plato, that an Epitaph should be comprised in four verses; or of the Lacedemonians, who reserved this honour only to Martial men and chaste women; or how the most ancient (especially Greek) were written in Elegiac verse, after in prose.

How monuments were erected most usually along the high-way-side, to put passengers in mind that they are, as those were, mortal.

How such as violated sepulchres were punished with death, banishment, condemnation to the mines, loss of members, according to circumstance of fact and person, and how sacred they were accounted.

In which regard I cannot but give you the words out of the "*Novellæ leges Valentin, Augusti, De sepulchris*," titulo 5, which are worth reading: "*Scimus, nec vana fides, & solutas membris animas habere sensum, & in originem suam spiritum redire cœlestem, hoc libris veteris sapientiæ, hoc religionis, quam veneramur & colimus, declaratur arcanis. Et licet occasus necessitatem mens divîna non sentiat, amant tamen animæ sedem corporum relictorum, & nescio qua sorte rationis occultæ sepulchri honore lætentur: cujus tanta permaneat cura temporibus, ut videamus in hos usus sumptu nimio pretiosam montium metalla transferri, operosæque moles censu laborante componi. Quod prudentium certe intelligentia recusaret, si nihil crederet esse post mortem. Nimis barbara est & vesana credulitas, munus extremum luce carentibus invidere, & dirutis per inexpiabile crimen sepulchris, monstrare cœlo eorum*

reliquias humatorum." Against which I cannot without grief remember how barbarously and unchristianly some not long since have offended ; yea, some *Mingendo in patrios cineres*, which yet we have seen strangely revenged.

I could here also call to your remembrance how the places of Burial was called by St. Paul Seminatio, in the respect of the assured hope of Resurrection ; of the Greeks, Coemiterion, as a sleeping-place until the Resurrection ; and of the Hebrews, "The House of the living," in the same respect as the Germans call Church-yards until this day "God's aker" or "God's field." And in the like sense Tombs were named Requietoria, Ossuaria, Cineraria, "Domus æternæ," &c., as you may see in old Inscriptions at Rome, and elsewhere, which Lucian scoffingly termed Camps and Cottages of Carkases.

Notorious it is to all how the same Lucian bringeth in Diogenes laughing and out-laughing King Mausolus, for that he was so pittifully pressed and crushed with an huge heap of stones under his stately Monument Mausoleum, for the Magnificence accounted among the World's Wonders : But Monuments answerable to men's worth, states, and places have always been allowed, yet stately Sepulchres for base fellows have always lien open to bitter Jest, as that marble one of Licinus the Barber, which one by the way of comparison thus derided, with a doubt thereon, whether God regarded men of Worth.

"Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato Parvo.
Pompeius nullo. Credimus esse Deos ?"

Whereunto another replied with an assurance, that God doth regard Worthy men.

"Saxa premunt Licinum, vehit altum fama Catonem,
Pompeium tituli. Credimus esse Deos."

As for such as bury themselves living, and say they live to themselves, when they live neither to themselves, nor to others, but to their belly, ease, and pleasure, well worthy are they to have while they live that Epitaph which Seneca devised for Vatia, their fellow, to be inscribed upon his house, "*Hic situs est Vatia*," and no memorial at all when they are dead.

It is not impertinent to note in one word, as the Ancient Romans began Epitaphs with *D. M.* for *Diis manibus*. *D. M. S., i. e., Diis manibus sacrum.* *Hic situs est Hospes*, as speaking to the reader. So we and other Christians began them with *Hic deponitur*, *Hic jacet*, *Hic requiescit*, *Hic tumulatur*; in French, *Icy gist*, Here lieth; and in latter time, according to the doctrine of the time, *Ora pro, &c.* Of your charity, &c. And now after the ancient manner, *D. O. M.* for *Deo Optimo. Maximo. Posteritati Sacrum. Memoræ Sacrum. Deo & Poster. Virtuti & Honori Sacrum, &c.*

Likewise as our Epitaphs were concluded with "On whose soul God have mercy; *Cujus animæ propitiatur Deus*;" God send him a joyful resurrection, &c. so theirs with, *Hoc Monumentum posuit vel fecit*, in these letters, *M. P. M. F.* in the behalf of him that made the Monument. With *Vale, vale, & Salve anima, nos eo ordine, quo natura jusserit sequemur.* With *H. M. H. N. S.* for *Hoc monumentum hæredes non sequitur*. When they would not have their heirs entombed therein, with *Rogo per Deos superos inferosque ossa nostra ne violes*. And most commonly with *Sit tibi terra levis*, in these notes, *S. T. T. L.* And sometime with *Quietem poster. non invideant*.

But, omitting this discourse, I will offer unto your view a number of choice Epitaphs of our nation for matter and conceit, some good, some bad, that you may see how learning ebbed and flowed: most of

them recovered from the injury of time by writers. And will begin with that at Rome, as most ancient, erected to the memory of a Britain, who after the manner of the time took a Roman name. "M. Ulpio Justo. O. fig. Aug. militavit. an. xxv. vixit. xlv. natione. Britto. fec. M. Ulfius. respectus. veh. Aug. amico optimo de sebene merenti."

Arthur, the valorous upholder of the ruinous state of Britain against the Saxons, about the year 500, was buried secretly at Glastenbury, lest the enemy should offer indignity to the dead body, and about 700 years after, when a grave was to be made in the Churchyard there, a stone was found between two Pyramides deep in the ground, with a cross of lead infixed into the lower part thereof, and inscribed in the inner side of the cross in rude Characters, which the Italians now call Gothic letters, "Hic jacet sepultus inclitus Rex Arturius in insula Avalonia."

Under which, in a trough of Oak, were found his bones, which the Monks translated into the Church and honoured them with a tomb, but dishonoured him with these hornpipe verses:¹

"Hic jacet Arturus flos regum, gloria regni,
Quem morum probitas commendat laude perenni."

Augustine, the first Arch-bishop of Canterbury, who first preached Christ to the English nation, converted the Kentish-men, and revived Christianity in this Isle, which flourished among the Britains many years before his coming, was buried at Canterbury in St. Peter's Porch, with this Epitaph:

¹ *Hornpipe verses.*—This phrase refers to an old English musical instrument, somewhat different from the bagpipe, and much in favour as an accompaniment to the rustic dance still known as a "hornpipe." See Way's "Promp. Parv. Cam. Soc. voc. Cornusc and Hornpye." "Hornpipe verses" are, therefore, rude unpolished verses.

"Hic requiescit dominus Augustinus Dorobernensis Archiepiscopus primus, qui olim huc a beato Gregorio Romanæ urbis Pontifice directus, & a Deo operatione miraculorum suffultus, Æthelbertum regem, ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad Christi fidem perduxit, & completis in pace diebus officii sui, defunctus est septimo Kalendas Junias, eodem rege regnante."

In the same place were interred the six succeeding Arch-bishops, for whom and Augustine, making the seventh, were these verses, as common to them all, written on the wall with this title: as I find them in Gervasius Dorobernensis:

"Septem primæ ecclesiæ Anglorum columnæ.
Augustinus, Laurentius, Mellitus, Justus, Honorius, Deus
dedit, Theodorus."

Septem sunt Anglis primates & protopatres,
Septem rectores, cælo septemque triones,
Septem cisternæ vitæ, septemque lucernæ,
Et septem palmæ regni, septemque coronæ,
Septem sunt stellæ quas hæc tenet area cellæ."

But Theodore, the last of the 7, which first taught Greek in England, and died in the year 713, had this severally inscribed upon his tomb:

"Scandens alma novæ fœlix consortia vitæ
Civibus Angelicis junctus in arce poli."

Cedwall, King of the West Saxons, went to Rome in the year 689, and there being baptized, renounced the world, ended his life, and was buried, with this Epitaph:

"Culmen, opes, sobolem, pollentia regna, triumphos,
Exuvias, procures, mœnia, castra, lares,
Quæque patrum virtus, & quæ congesserat ipse,
Cadwal armipotens liquit amore Dei."

With some more, which you may see in Paulus Diaconus and Beda.

King Eadgar, surnamed the Peaceable, the great

patron and favourer of Monks, deserved well, for his foundation of so many Abbies, this Epitaph :

“ Auctor opum, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum,
Sceptringer Eadgarus regna superna petit.
Hic alter Salomon, legum pater orbita pacis,
Quod caruit bellis, claruit inde magis.
Templa Deo, templis monachos, monachis dedit agros :
Nequitiae lapsum, justitiaeque locum.
Novit enim regno verum perquirere falso :
Immensum modico, perpetuumque brevi.”

To the honour of King Alfred, a godly, wise, and warlike Prince, and an especial advancer of learning, was made this, better than that time commonly afforded :

“ Nobilitas innata tibi, probitatis honorem
Armipotens Alfrede dedit, probitasque laborem,
Perpetuumque labor nomen : cui mixta dolori
Gaudia semper erant : spes semper mixta timori.
Si modò victor eras, ad crastina bella pavebas ;
Si modò victus eras, in crastina bella parabas.
Cui vestes sudore jugi, cui sicca cruore
Tincta jugi, quantum sit onus regnare probarunt.
Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,
Cui tot in adversis vel respirare liceret :
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
Aut gladio potuit vitae finire labores.
Jam post transactos vitae regnique labores,
Christus ei sit vera quies, & vita perennis.”

It is marvellous how immediately after this time learning decayed in this Kingdom, for John Erigena aliàs Scotus, favoured of Charles the Bald King of France, and the foresaid King Alfred, for his learning, when he was stabbed by his scholars at Malmesbury, was buried with this rude, rough and unlearned verse :

“ Clauditur in tumultu Sanctus Sophista Johannes,
Qui ditatus erat, jam vivens dogmate miro.
Martyrio tandem Christi conscendere regnum
Quo meritis, regnant sancti per secula cuncti.”

On the tomb of Saint Edward the Confessor, in Westminster, is this epitaph :

"Omnibus insignis virtutum laudibus heros
Sanctus Edwardus Confessor, Rex venerandus,
Quinto die Jani moriens super æthera scandit.
Sursum corda. Moritur, 1065."

This religious and good King died at Westminster: the Chamber wherein he died yet remaineth ; close to Sir Thomas Cotton's house. He built a goodly house in Essex, which he called Have-he-ring, as much to say, as take the Ring (for *he* in the Saxon was *the*, in our now English) in this place he took great delight, because it was woody and solitary, fit for his private devotions. I cannot justify that report, how when he was hindred and troubled in his praying by the multitude of singing Nightingales, earnestly desired of God their absence, since which time never Nightingale was heard to sing in the Park, but without the pales many numbers, as in other places ; yet this is reported for a truth by the inhabitants at this day.¹

Concerning that name of Havering, from taking the Ring, the History is commonly known, which is, how King Edward, having no other thing to give an aged Pilgrim, who demanded an alms of him here in England, took off his Ring from his finger, and

¹ Why holy men should have entertained so strong an aversion to the strains of Philomel is not very easily explained ; Sir Thomas à Becket cursed the nightingales of Otford Park, in Kent ; and a certain recluse of St. Leonard's Forest, in Suffex, did the same thing in his locality. See Lambarde's "Peramb. of Kent," Borde's "Boke of Knowledge," "Retrospective Review, N.S." vol. ii. p. 138. Nor does this antipathy appear to be limited to the sacerdotal order, for quite recently we have heard of a Suffex gentleman (*gentle-man* quotha !) who has shot all his nightingales ! !

gave it him, which Ring the said Pilgrim from Hierusalem, or I wot not from whence, delivered to certain Englishmen, and willed them to deliver the same again unto their King, and to tell him it was Saint John the Evangelist that he gave it unto, and who now sent it again, and withal to tell him upon such a day he should dye, which was the day above written. The credit of this story I leave to the first Author, and the Legend ; but if at any time you go through Westminster Cloyster into the Deans yard, you shall see the King and Pilgrim cut in stone over the gate ; but this by the way.

And from this time learning so low ebb'd in England, that between Thames and Trent there was scant one found which could understand Latin, and that you may perceive when as Hugolin, Treasurer to King Edward the Confessor, had these most silly verses ingraven upon his monument, in the old Chapter-house of Westminster :

“Qui ruis injuste capit hic Hugoline locus te,
Laude pia clares, quia martyribus nece clares.”

But shortly after the Conquest learning revived, as appeareth by these that follow, which were cast in a more learned mold than the former.

King William, surnamed the Conquerour, for his conquest of England, was buried at Caen in Normandy, with this Epitaph discovered in the late civil Wars of France, but mentioned in Gemeticensis :

“Qui rexit rigidos Normannos, atque Britannos
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit :
Et Cenomanenses virtute contudit enses,
Imperiique sui legibus applicuit :
Rex magnus parva jacet hic Gulielmus in urna :
Sufficit & magno parva domus domino.
Ter septem gradibus se volverat atque duobus
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, & hic obiit.”

Upon Stigand, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, de-

graded for his intrusion and corruption, I find this most viperous Epitaph in an old Manuscript, which seemed to proceed from the malice of the Normans against him :

“Hic jacet Herodes Herode ferocior, hujus
Inquinat infernum spiritus, ossa solum.”

William the Valiant, Earl of Flanders, grandchild to this King William the Conquerour, son to Robert, who, unhappy in his state, losing the hope of his Kingdom of England, and dying of a wound in his hand, was not altogether unhappy in his Poet, which made him this Epitaph :

“Unicus ille ruit, cujus non terga sagittam,
Cujus nosse pedes non potuere fugam.
Nil nisi fulmen erat, quoties res ipsa movebat,
Et si non fulmen, fulminis instar erat.”

King Henry the first, for his learning furnamed Beauclerc, had this flattering Epitaph, as Poets could flatter in all ages :

“Rex Henricus obit, decus olim, nunc dolor orbis,
Numina flent numen deperiisse suum.
Mercurius minor eloquio, vi mentis Apollo,
Jupiter imperio, Marsque vigore gemunt.
Anglia quæ curâ, quæ scepro Principis hujus,
Ardua splenduerat, jam tenebrosa ruit.
Hæc cum rege suo, Normannia cum Duce merces,
Nutriit hæc puerum, perdidit illa virum.”

Whereas this dead King was so divided that his heart and brains were buried in Normandy, and his body in England, these verses were made by Arnulph of Lisieux :

“Henrici, cujus celebrat vox publica nomen,
Hoc pro parte jacent membra sepulta loco.
Quem neque viventem capiebat terra, nec unus
Defunctum potuit conspeliare locus.
In tria partitus, sua jura quibusque resignat
Partibus, illustrans sic tria regna tribus.
Spiritus cælum : cordi cerebroque dicata est
Neustria : quod dederat Anglia, corpus habet.”

Of him also another composed these, in respect of his peaceable government and the troubles which ensued under King Stephen, both in England and Normandy.

"Anglia lugeat hinc, Normannica gens fleat illinc,
Occidit Henricus modò lux, nunc luctus utrique."

Upon William, son of King Henry the first, and heir apparent of this realm, drowned upon the coast of Normandy, I have found this Epitaph :

"Abstulit hunc terræ matri maris unda noverca,
Proh dolor ! occubuit Sol Anglicus, Anglia plora :
Quæque prius fueras gemino radiata nitore,
Extincto nato vivas contenta parente."

But well it was with England in that he was so prevented, which threatned to make the English draw the Plough as Oxen. [Hypodigma.]

Mawd, daughter to the foresaid King, wife to Henry, the fourth Emperour, mother to King Henry the second, who intituled herself Empress and Augusta, for that she was thrice solemnly crowned at Rome, as R. de Diceto testifieth, and Anglorum Domina, because she was heir apparent to the crown of England, was very happy in her Poet, who, in these two severall verses, contained her princely parentage, match and issue :

"Magna ortu, majorque viro, sed maxima partu,
Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens."

Queen
Maud.

Alberic Vere, grandfather to the first Earl of Oxford, and his son William were buried together, Anno 1088, with this Epitaph at Colne, where he was founder and afterward Monk, as it is in the Annales of Abingdon Abby :

"En puer, en senior, pater alter, filius alter,
Legem, fortunam, terram venere sub unam."

Which is not unlike to that of Conrad, the Emperour, at Spire in Germany.

"Filius hic, pater hic, avus hic, proavus jacet istic."

Thomas Becket, Arch-bishop of Canterbury, slain in Christ's Church at Canterbury at Christmas, had these Epitaphs, expressing the cause, the time, and place of his death, made by his especial favourer :

"Pro Christi sponsa, Christi sub tempore, Christi
In templo, Christi verus amator obit.
Quinta dies natalis erat, flos orbis ab orbe
Carpitur, & fructus incipit esse poli.
Quis moritur ? præsul. cur ? pro grege. qualiter ? ense :
Quando ? natali, quis locus ? ara Dei."

For Theobald of Bloys, Earl of Champlain, Nephew to King Henry the First, Giraldus Cambrensis, Bishop of St. David's in Wales, made this :

"Ille comes, Comes ille pius Theobaldus eras, quem
Gaudet habere polus, terra carere dolet.
Non hominem possum, non audeo dicere numen :
Mors probat hunc hominem, vita fuisse Deum.
Trans hominem, citraque Deum : plus hoc, minus istud,
Nescio quis, neuter, inter utrumque fuit."

Vitalis, Abbot of Westminster, which died in the time of the Conquerour, had this Epitaph :

"Qui nomen traxit à vita, morte vocante
Abbas Vitalis transiit, hicque jacet."

And for Laurence, Abbot of the same place, which died 1176, was made this, alluding to his Name :

"Pro meritis vitæ dedit isti Laurea nomen,
Detur ei vitæ laurea pro meritis."

These two haply may find as much favour with some, if one word do not prejudice, as that ancient one of Floridus so highly commended :

"Quod vixi flos est, servat lapis hic mihi nomen,
Nolo Deos manes, flos mihi pro titulo."

Gervays de Bloys, base Son to King Stephen,

and Abbot also of the same Church, was buried with the forefaid in the Cloyfter with this :

“De Regum genere pater hic Gervafius ecce
Monftrat defun<us, mors rapit omne genus.”

William de Albeney, Earl of Arundel and Butler to the King, was buried at Wimondham, which he founded, with this :

“Hunc Pincerna locum fundavit, & hic jacet, illa
Quæ dedit huic domui, jam fine fine tenet.”

That mighty Monarch King Henry the Second, which by his own right adjoyned Anjou, Main, and Tourain, by his wife Aquitain, Poyctu, and by conquest Ireland, to the Crown of England, and commanded from the Pyrene Mountains to the Orcades, was honoured with this Distich, while he lived, containing his Princely praises :

“Nec laudem, nec munus amat, nec honore superbit,
Nec læsus lædit, nec dominando premit.”

And after his Death with this Epitaph :

“Rex Henricus eram, mihi plurima regna subegi,
Multiplicique modo Duxque Comesque fui.
Cui fatis ad votum non effent omnia terræ
Climata, terra modo fufficit o&to pedum.
Qui legis hæc, penfa discrimina mortis, & in me
Humanæ speculum conditionis habe.
Sufficit hic tumulus, cui non fuffecerat orbis,
Res brevis ampla mihi, cui fuit ampla brevis.”

Rofamond the Fair, his Paramour, Daughter to Walter, Lord Clifford, and Mother to William Longſpee, the firft Earl of Sarifbury, eternized by Mafter Daniel’s Muſe, had this, nothing anfwerable to her beauty :

“Hac jacet in tumba rofa mundi non Roſamunda,
Non redolet, fed olet, quæ redolere folet.”

William Longſpee, Earl of Sarum, baſe Son to

King Henry the Second by this Lady, had an Epitaph not unlike to that of his Mother :

*"Flos comitum Willielmus cognomine Longus,
Ensis vaginam cœpit habere brevem."*

For Rhees ap Gruffith ap Rhees ap Theodor, Prince of South Wales, renowned in his time, these Funeral Verses were made, amongst others :

*"Nobile Cambrensis cecidit diadema decoris,
Hoc est, Rhesus obiit : Cambria tota gemit.
Subtrahitur, sed non moritur, quia semper habetur
Iplius egregium nomen in orbe novum.
Hic tegitur, sed detegitur, quia fama perennis
Non sinit illustrem voce latere ducem :
Excessit probitate modum, sensu probitatem,
Eloquio sensum, moribus eloquium."*

The Glory of that Magnanimous and Lion-like Prince, King Richard the First, renowned for his Conquest of Cyprus, the King whereof he took and kept in fetters of silver, and for his great exploits in the Holy Land, stirred up the Wits of the best Poets in that Age to honour him with these Epitaphs which follow, when he was slain in viewing the Castle of Chaluz in Limosin :

*"Hic Ricarde jaces, sed mors si cederet armis,
Victa timore tui, cederet ipsa tuis."*

Another also writ of him :

*"Istius in morte perimit formica leonem :
Proh dolor ! in tanti funere, mundus obit."*

An English Poet, imitating the Epitaph made of Pompey and his Children, whose bodies were buried in divers Countries, made these following of the Glory of this one King divided in three places by his Funeral :

*"Viscera Cariolum, corpus fons servat Ebraudi,
Et cor Rothomagum, magne Richarde, tuum.
In tria dividitur unus, qui plus fuit uno :
Non uno jaceat gloria tanta loco."*

At Font-Everard, where his body was entered with a gilt Image, were these six excellent Verses, written in Golden Letters, containing his greatest and most glorious Atchievements ; as his Victory against the Sicilians, his conquering of Cyprus, the sinking of the great Galeasse of the Saracens, the taking of their Convoy (which in the East parts is called a Carvana), and the defending of Joppe in the Holy Land against them :

“ Scribitur hoc tumulo, Rex auree, laus tua, tota
Aurea, materię conveniente nota.
Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo
Tertia, Carvana quarta, suprema Jope.
Suppressi Siculi, Cyprus pefundata, Dromo
Mersus, Carvana capta, retenta Jope.”

But sharp and satyrical was that one Verse which, by alluding, noted his taking the Chalices from Churches for his ransome, and place of his death, which was called Chaluz :

“ Christę tui calicis prędo, fit pręda Caluzis.”

Savaricus, Bishop of Bath and Wells, a stirring Prelate, which laboured most for the redeeming King Richard, when he was captive in Austria, and is famous in the Decretals (*lib. 3, tit. 90, Novit ille*), had this Epitaph, for that he was always gadding up and down the World, and had little rest :

“ Hospes erat mundo per mundum semper eundo :
Sic suprema dies, fit sibi prima quies.”

And the like in late years was engraven upon the Monument of Jacobus Triulcio, a military man of the same metal, as Lodovic Guicciardin reporteth :

“ Hic mortuus requiescit semel,
Qui vivus requievit nunquam.”

But Similis, Captain of the Guard to Adrian the Emperour, when he had passed a most toylsome

life, after he had retired himself from service and lived privately seven years in the Country, acknowledged that he had lived only them seven years, as he caused to be inscribed upon his Monument, thus :

“ Hic jacet Similis cujus ætas multorum annorum fuit,
ipse septem duntaxat annos vixit.”

It may be doubtful whether Wolgrine the Organist was so good a Musician as Hugh, Archdeacon of York, was a Poet, which made this Epitaph for him :

“ Te, Wolgrine, cadente cadunt vox, organa, cantus,
Et quicquid gratum gratia vocis habet.
Voce, lyra, modulis, Syrenes, Orpheus, Phœbum
Unus tres poteras æquiparare tribus.
Si tamen illorum non fallat fama locorum,
Quod fueras nobis, hoc eris Elysiis,
Cantor eris, qui cantor eras, hic charus & illic.
Orpheus alter eras, Orpheus alter eris.”

Upon one Peter, a religious man of this Age, I found this :

“ Petra capit Petri cineres, animam Petra Christus.
Sic sibi divisit utraque petra Petrum.”

Upon the death of Morgan, base Son of King Henry the Second, was made this Epitaph, alluding to his Name in that alluding Age :

“ Larga, Benigna, decens, jacet hic stirps regia, morum
Organa Morgano fracta jacente, silent.”

King
John.

King John, a Great Prince, but unhappy, had these Epitaphs bewraving the hatred of the Clergy toward him :

“ Hoc in sarcophago sepelitur Regis imago,
Qui moriens multum sedavit in orbe tumultum,
Et cui connexa dum vixit probra manebant,
Hunc mala post mortem timor est ne fata sequantur.
Qui legis hæc metuens dum cernis te moriturum,
Discito quid rerum pariat tibi meta dierum.”

But this was most malicious, and proceeded from a viperous mind :

“ Anglia sicut adhuc sordet foetore Johannis,
Sordida foedatur, foedante Johanne, gehenna.”

In the time of King Henry the Third they began to make Epitaphs, as they call it now, out of *Propria quæ maribus*, as some do in our Age ; but among them this was short and good for William, Earl of Pembroke and Marshal of England, buried in the Temple Church :

“ Sum quem Saturnum sibi sensit Hibernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.”

And this was not bad for Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford, which died Anno 1602 :

“ Hic pudor Hippolyti, Paridis gena, sensus Vlyssis,
Æneæ pietas, Hæctoris ira jacet.”

I doubt not but this Rythme of Simon Monfort, Earl of Leiceſter, slain at Evesham, found favour in that Age, as the Earl himself, who was so followed by the people that he durst confront his Sovereign King Henry the Third, and as the Epitaph doth imply, was the peerless man of that Time for Valour, Personage, and Wisdom :

“ Nunc dantar fato, casuque cadunt iterato,
Simone sublato, Mars, Paris, atque Cato.”

Upon a Gentleman as some think named None, buried at Wimondham, who gave nothing to the religious there, was made this :

“ Hic situs est Nullus, quia nullo nullior iste ;
Et quia nullus erat, de nullo nil tibi Chrifte.”

Excellent is this, which I found in the Book of Wimondham, for Pope Lucius born at Luca, Bishop of Ostia, Pope of Rome, and dying at Verona :

“ Luca dedit lucem tibi Luci, Pontificatum
Ostia, Papatum Roma, Verona mori.

life, after he had retired
lived privately seven years
ledged that he had lived
he caused to be inscribed
thus :

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Et quicquid gratum gratis
Voce, lyra, modulis, Syrenæ.
Unus tres poteras æquiparare
Si tamen illorum non fallat opinio
Quod fueras nobis, hoc eris
Cantor eris, qui cantor eras,
Orpheus alter eras, Orpheus

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found this :

"Petra capit Petri cineres, ante
Sic sibi divisit utraque petra

Upon the death of Mor
Henry the Second, was made
to his Name in that allusion

"Larga, Benigna, decens, jace
Organa Morgano fracta jacent

King
John.

King John, a Great Priest
these Epitaphs bewrawing to
toward him :

"Hoc in sarcophago sepelitur
Qui moriens multum sedavit iram
Et cui connexa dum vixit proba
Hunc mala post mortem timor
Qui legis hæc metuens dum cecidit
Discito quid rerum pariat tibi

But this was most malicious, and proceeded from a viperous mind :

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“ Luca dedit lucem tibi Luci, Pontificatum
Ostia, Papatum Roma, Verona mori.

Imo Verona dedit tibi verè vivere, Roma
Exilium, curas Ostia, Luca mori."

If you will see an old Dean named Hamo Sol, resembled to the twelve Sons of old Father Annus, which had every one (as Cleobulus was wont to call them) thirty Daughters, some fair, some foul, all dying, and never dying, read this Epitaph :

"Participat mensis dotes cujuslibet Hamo.
Circumspectus erat ut Janus, Crimina pugnans
Ut Februus, veterana novans ut Martius ipse,
Semina producens ut Aprilis, flore coruscans
Ut Majus, facie plaudens ut Junius, intus
Fervens ut Julius, frugis maturus adulta,
Messor ut Augustus, fecundans horrea more
Septembris, replens vino cellaria more
Octobris, pastor pecudum sed spiritualis,
More Novembris ; epulator dapilis instar
Omne Decembris habet, hiemali peste quiescens."

Another, playing upon the name Hamon, made this for him :

"Olim piscator hominum, quasi piscis ab hamo
Mortis Captus hamo, celebrat convivia vitæ."

But witty was this ; whereas he died in a Leap-year upon the Leap-day, accounted so unhappy a day of the Romans, that Valentinian the Emperour durst not peep out in that day :

"Hamo Decane jaces, toto fugit exul ab anno
Interitum Solis, ausa videre dies."

Verily he was a man of some good note in that time, for I find another of him alluding also to this Leap-day :

"Nulla dies anni nisi bissextilis, & anni
Judicio damnata fui, nec subdita mensi,
Sed noctis lux instar erat, lux nescia lucis,
Et lux existens inter luces, quasi bubo
Inter aves, hujus poterat concludere vitam
Solis, & humanum genus hac private lucerna."

Alexander Necham, a great learned man of his age, as appeareth by his Books *De divinæ sapientiæ laudibus*, was buried in the Cloister at Worcester with this, but deserved a better :

“Eclipsim patitur sapientia : Sol sepelitur ;
Qui dum vivebat, studii genus omne vigeat :
Solvitur in cineres Necham, cui si foret hæres
In terris unus, minus esset flebile funus.”

A merry mad maker, as they call Poets now, was he which, in the time of King Henry the Third, made this for John Calf :

“O Deus omnipotens Vituli miserere Joannis,
Quem mors præveniens noluit esse bovem.”

Which in our time was thus paraphased by the Translatour :

“All Christian men in my behalf,
Pray for the soul of Sir John Calf.
O cruel death, as subtle as a Fox,
Who would not let this Calf live till he had been an Oxe,
That he might have eaten both brambles and thorns,
And when he came to his father's years might have worn
horns.”

Robert de Courtney was buried at Ford, as appeareth by the Register of that place, 1242, under a stately Pyramis ; who, whether he was descended from the Earls of Edeffa or from Peter the Son of Lewis the Grofs, King of France, had but this bad Inscription, which I insert, more for the honour of the Name than the worth of the Verse :

“Hic jacet ingenui de Courtney gleba Roberti,
Militis egregii, virtutum laude referti.
Quem genuit strenuus Reginaldus Courtenienfis,
Qui procer eximius fuerat tunc Devonienfis.”

A Monk of Duresme busied his brain in nicking out these nice Verses upon the death of W. de Lamarch, Chancellour of England under King John :

the Monks, and inscribed with these Monkish Rythmes :

“Tertius Henricus jacet hic pietatis amicus,
Ecclesiam istam stravit, quam post renovavit.
Reddet ei munus qui regnat trinus & unus.”

Upon the Tomb of Dr. John Bekingale, sometime Bishop of Chichester, this is engraven, which I set here for rare correspondency of the Rythm :

“Tu modo qualis eris? quid mundi quæris honores?
Crimina deplores, in me nunc te speculeris :
En mors ante fores, quæ clamat omnibus adsum
In pœnis passum, pro me te deprecor ores.”

Which is the same in sence with that at Geneva :

“Vixi ut vivis morieris ut sum mortuus
sic vita traditur.”

Lewes de Beaumont that learned Bishop of Duresme, who was preferred thereunto for his affinity unto the Queen, although he could not, with all his Learning, read this word Metropolitice, at his Consecration, but passed it over with *Soit pour diſt* ; swearing by St. Lewes that they were discourteous which set down so many hard words in the ordering of Priests, had this upon his Tomb in Duresme Church, where he was buried, 1333 :

“De Bello Monte jacet hic Lodovicus humatus,
Nobilis ex fonte regum, Comitumque creatus,” &c.

King Edward the First, a most worthy and mighty Prince, the first establishe of the Kingdom of England, had affixed at the Altar of St. Edward, near his Tomb at Westminster, a large Epitaph in prose, whereof I have found only this fragment :

King
Edward
the First.

... “Abavus autem & triavus ejus dilatantes imperia, subjecerant sibi Ducatus & Comitatus. Edwardus vero paternarum magnificentiarum amplius æmulator existens, Regaleque solium perornans in clypeo & in hasta, Principatum Walliæ truncatis ejus principibus, Leolino & David, potentissime adquisivit. Quinimo dominium Regni Scotiæ, primo magni in-

dustria consilii, deinde virtute bellorum victoriosissime est adeptus. Nihilominus Comitatibus Cornubiæ & Northfolke (disponente eo cujus est orbis terræ & plenitudo ejus) ad manus Edwardi mirabiliter devolutis, suis successoribus amplissimam reliquit materiam gloriandi. Ubicumque igitur Christus habet nomen, inter præcellentissimos reges fidelium habeat & Edwardus honorem."

King
Edward
the
Third.

The famous King Edward the Third, which had so great Victories over the French, to the greater Glory than good of England (as some say), is entombed at Westminster with this, when he had reigned fifty years :

"Hic decus Anglorum, flos regum præteritorum,
Fama futurorum, Rex clemens, pax populorum,
Tertius Edvardus, regum complens Jubilæum."

King
Richard
the
Second.

King Richard the Second, his Grandchild and Successeur, who was deposed of his Kingdom by Henry the Fourth, had for his Kingdom a Tomb erected at Westminster by King Henry the Fifth, with this rude glosing Epitaph :

"Prudens & mundus Richardus jure secundus,
Per fatum victus, jacet hic sub marmore pictus.
Verax sermone fuit, & plenus ratione :
Corpore procerus animo prudens ut Homerus.
Ecclesiæ favit, elatos suppeditavit,
Quemvis prostravit regalia qui violavit,
Obruit hæreticos, & eorum stravit amicos :
O clemens Christe, tibi devotus fuit iste,
Votis Baptistæ salves quem protulit iste."

In his time, Robert Hawley, a valiant Esquire, was murdered in Westminster Church in Service time, where he had taken Sanctuary, and is there buried in the place where he was first assaulted, with these Verses :

"Me dolus, ira, furor, multorum militis atque.
.....
In hoc gladio celebri pietatis asylo,
Dum Levita Dei sermones legit ad aram,

Proh dolor, ipse meo Monachorum sanguine vultus
Aspersi moriens, chorus est mihi testis in ævum,
Et me nunc retinet sacer hic locus Hawle Robertum,
Hic quia pestiferos male sensi primitus hostes."

Famous is L. Siccinius Dentatus, who served in an hundred and twenty battails: and glorious is Henry the fourth Emperour, who fought fifty-two battails: and likewise honourable should the memory be of Sir Matthew Gourney, our Countreyman, of whose house Sir H. Newton is descended, which commanded in battails, and was buried at Stoke Hamden, in Sommerfet-shire, with this French memorial now defaced:

"Icy gist le noble & valient Chevalir, Maheu de Gurnay iadis seneschal de landes & Capitayn du Chastell d'Aques pour nostre Signior le Roy en la Duché de Guien: qui en sa vie fu ala bataille de Benemazin, & ala apres a la siege de Algezir sur le Sarazines, & auxi a les battayles de Seleuse, de Cressly, de Ingeneffe, de Poyters, de Nazara, &c. Obiit 96 ætatis, 26 Septemb. 1406."

King Henry the fifth, who, as Thomas Walsingham testifieth of him, was goodly in heart, sober in speech, sparing of words, resolute in deeds, provident in counsel, prudent in judgment, modest in countenance, magnanimous in action, constant in undertaking, a great alms-giver, devout to Godward, a renowned Souldier, fortunate in field, from whence he never returned without victory, was buried at Westminster; and his picture was covered with silver plate, which was sacrilegiously stolen away, and his Epitaph defaced, which was but these two silly verses:

"Dux Normanorum, verus Conquestor eorum,
Hæres Francorum decessit, & Hector eorum."

He that made this silly one for Sir John Woodcock, Mercer and Major of London, 1405, buried

in St. Albans in Woodstreet, though he observed both rime and reason :

"Hic jacet in requie Woodcock John Vir generosus,
Major Londoniæ, Mercerus valde morosus.
Hic jacet Tom Shorthofe,
Sine Tomb, sine Sheets, sine Riches,
Qui vixit sine Gown,
Sine Cloak, sine Shirt, sine Breeches."

Henry Chichely, although he was founder of All foul's Colledge in Oxford and an especial furtherer of learning, was but little honoured by this unlearned Epitaph, 1443 :

"Pauper eram natus, post Primas hic relevatus,
Jam sum prostratus, & vermibus esca paratus,
Ecce meum tumulum."

His next successeur, one John Kempe, happened upon a better Poet, who in one verse comprehended all his dignities, which were great :

Johannes Kempe.

Bis primas, ter præful erat, bis cardine functus."

For he was Bishop of Rochester, Chichester, and London, Arch-bishop of York, and then Canterbury, and Cardinal, first Deacon, then Priest.

This that followeth is engraven about a fair tomb in a goodly Chappel adjoyning the Quire of Saint Maries Church in Warwick, being a worthy monument of so noble a person, since whose time, although but late, you may observe a great change both of the heirs of his house, and the use of words in this Epitaph :

"Pray devoutly for the soul, whom God assoil, of one of the most worshipful Knights in his days of manhood and cunning, Richard Beauchamp, late Earl of Warwick, Lord Defender of Bergevenny, and of many other great Lordships, whose body resteth here under this tomb in a full fair vault of stone, set in the bare rock. The which visited with long sickness, in the Castle of Rohan, therein deceased full Christianly

the last day of April, in the year of our Lord God 1439, he being at that time Lieutenant general of France and of the Dutchy of Normandy, by sufficient authority of our Sovereign Lord King Henry the sixth. The which body by great deliberation and worshipful conduct, by Sea and by land, was brought to Warwick the fourth of October, the year abovesaid; and was laid with full solemn exequies in a fair Chest made of stone, afore the West dore of this Chappel, according to his last Will and Testament, therein to rest, till this Chappel by him devised in his life were made; the which Chappel, founded on the Rock, and all the members thereof his executors did fully make and apparail by the authority of his said last Will and Testament. And thereafter, by the said authority, they did translate worshipfully the said body into the vault aforesaid. Honoured be God therefore."

His daughter the Countess of Shrewsbury, was buried in Saint Faith's, under S. Pauls at London, with this:

"Here before the image of Ihesu lieth the worshipful and right noble Lady Margaret, Countess of Shrewsbury, (late wife of the true and victorious Knight and redoubted warrior, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, which worshipfully dyed in Gien for the right of this land), the first daughter and one of the heirs of the right famous and renowned Knight Richard Beauchampe, late Earl of Warwick, which dyed in Roane; and of dame Elizabeth his wife, the which Elizabeth was daughter and heir to Thomas, late Lord Berkley, and on his side, and of her mother's side Lady Lisle and Ties; which Countess passed from this world the xiiii day of June, the year of our Lord 1468. On whose soul the Lord have mercy."

For that valorous Earl her husband, the terrour of France, I have elsewhere noted his Epitaph; and now in stead thereof, I will give you to understand that not long since, his sword was found in the River of Dordon, and sold by a peasant to an Armourer of Burdeaux, with this inscription; but pardon the Latine, for it was not his, but his Camping Chaplain:

"Sum Talboti M. IIII. C. XLIII.
Pro vincere inimico meo."

This inscription following is, in the Cathedral

Church at Roan in Normandy, for John Duke of Bedford, and Governour in Normandy, son to King Henry the fourth, buried in a fair plain monument; which, when a French Gentleman advised Charles the eighth French King to deface, as being a monument of the English victories, he said: Let him rest in peace now he is dead, whom we feared while he lived.

"Cy gift feu de noble memoire haut & puissant, prince Iean en son vivant regent du Royaume de France, Duc de Bethfort, pour lequel est fondé une Messe estre par chacun iour perpetuellement celebrée en cest autel par le College des Clementins incontinent apres prime: & trespassa le 13 Septembre 1435. Au quel 13 jour semblablement est fondé pour luy un obit en ceste eglise. Dieu face pardon à son ame."

Upon an ancient Knight Sir Jernegan, buried Crofs-legg'd at Somerly in Suffolk some hundred years since, is written:

"Jesus Christ, both God and man,
Save thy servant Jernegan."

King
Henry
the 7.

Happy and prudent King Henry the 7, who stopped the streams of civil blood which so long overflowed England, and left a most peaceable state to his posterity, hath his magnificent monument at Westminster inscribed thus:

"Septimus hic situs est Henricus, gloria regum
Cunctorum illius qui tempestate fuerunt,
Ingenio atque opibus gestarum nomine rerum:
Accessere quibus naturæ dona benignæ,
Frontis honos, facies augusta, heroica forma:
Junctaque ei suavis conjux perpulchra, pudica
Et fœcunda fuit, scelices prole parentes,
Henricum quibus octavum terra Anglia debes."

"Hic jacet Henricus, hujus nominis VII, Angliæ quondam Rex Edmundi Richmundiæ Comitis filius, qui die 22 Aug. Rex creatus, statim post apud Westmonasterium 30 Octob. coronatur, anno Dom. 1485; moritur deinde xxi April. anno atatis Liii. Regnavit annos xxii, menses viii, minus uno die."

This following I will note out of Hackney Church, that you may see that the Clergy were not always anticipating and griping many livings, by this worthy man, which relinquished great dignities, and refused greater :

“Christophorus Urswicus Regis Henrici Septimi Eleemosynarius, vir sua ætate clarus, summatibus atque infimatibus juxta charus. Ad exteros reges undecies pro patriæ legatus. Decanatum Eboracensem, Archidiaconatum Richmundiæ, Decanatum Windsoræ habitos vivens reliquit. Episcopatum Norwicensen oblatum recusavit. Magnos honores tota vita sprexit, frugali vita contentus, hic vivere, hic mori voluit. Plenus annorum obiit, ab omnibus desideratus. Funeris pompam etiam testamento vetuit. Hic sepultus carnis resurrectionem in adventum Christi expectat.”

“Obiit anno Christi incarnati 1521 Die 23 Martii, Anno ætatis suæ 74.”

This Testamentary Epitaph I have read in an old Manuscript :

“Terram terra tegit, Dæmon peccata resumat ;
Res habeat Mundus, spiritus alta petat.”

The name of this defunct, as it were, enigmatically expressed in this old Epitaph :

“*Bis* fuit hic natus, puer & *bis*, *bis* juvenisque.
Bis vir, *bisque* senex, *bis* doctor, *bisque* sacerdos.”

In the Cathedral Church of S. Paul's, in London, a stone is inscribed thus, without name :

“Non hominem aspiciam ultra.
OBLIVIO.

This man yet would not willingly have been forgotten, when he adjoyned his Arms to continue his memory ; not unlike to Philosophers, which prefixed their names before their Treatises of contemning glory.

Another, likewise suppressing his name, for his Epitaph did set down this goodly admonition :

“Look, man, before thee, how thy death hasteth ;
Look, man, behind thee, how thy life wasteth ;

Look on thy right side, how death thee desireth ;
 Look on thy left side, how sin thee beguileth ;
 Look, man, above thee, joys that ever shall last ;
 Look, man, beneath thee, the pains without rest."

The Abbot of S. Albans, which lieth buried there in the high Quire, suppressed his name, as modestly as any other, in this :

" Hic quidem terra tegitur
 Peccato solvens debitum,
 Cujus nomen non impositum,
 In libro vitæ sit inscriptum."

In the Cloister on the North side of S. Paul's, now ruined, one had this inscription upon his Grave, without name :

" Vixi, peccavi, poenitui, naturæ cessi."

Which is as Christian, as that was profane of the Roman :

" Amici, dum vivimus vivamus."

King Henry the 8, who subverted so many Churches, monuments and tombs, lyeth inglorious at Windsor, and never had the honour either of the tomb which he had prepared, or of any Epitaph that I now remember.

But his Brother in law, King James the fourth of Scotland, slain at Flodden, though the place of his burial is unknown, yet had this honourable Epitaph :

" Fama orbem replet, mortem fors occulit : at tu
 Define scrutari quod tegat ossa solum :
 Si mihi dent animo non impar fata sepulchrum,
 Augusta est tumulo terra Britanna meo."

Queen Jane, who died in Child-birth of King Edward the sixth, and used for her device a Phoenix, being her paternal Crest, had this thereunto alluding for her Epitaph :

" Phoenix Jana jacet, nato Phœnice, dolendum
 Sæcula Phœnices nulla tulisse duos."

The noble Henry Earl of Surrey, Father to Thomas late Duke of Norfolk, and the right honourable and nobly learned late Earl of Northampton, in the time of King Henry the eighth, first refining our homely English Poësie, among many other, made this Epitaph, comparable with the best, for Thomas Clere, Esquire, his friend and follower, buried at Lambeth, 1545 :

"Norfolk sprang thee, Lambeth holds thee dead,
Clere of the county of Cleremont, though high,
Within the womb of Ormond's race thou bred,
Aud sawest thy cofin crowned in thy sight ;
Shelton for love, Surrey for Lord thou chase,
Aye me, while life did last, that league was tender :
Tracing whose steps thou sawest Kelfall blaze,
Laudersey burnt, and battered Bullen render.
At Muttrel gates, hopeles of all recure,
Thine Earl, half dead, gave in thy hand his will :
Which cause did thee this pining death procure,
Ere fummers seven times seven thou couldst fulfill.
Ah, Clere, if love had bootéd care or cost,
Heaven had not wonne, nor earth so timely lost."

The Duke of Suffolk and his brother, sons of Charles Brandon, which died of the sweat at Bugden, were buried together, with this :

"Una fides vivos conjunxit, religio una,
Ardor & in studiis unus, & unus amor.
Abstulit hos simul una dies : duo corpora jungit
Una urna, ac mentes unus olympus habet."

King Edward the sixth, although he had his father's fate in having no sepulchre, yet he had the honour of a learned Elegy, composed by Sir John Cheek, too long to be here inserted, and this distich:

"Rex, Regis natus, regum decus, unica regni
Spesque salusque sui, conditur hoc tumulo."

The Earl of Devonshire, Edward Courtney, honourably descended from one of the daughters of King Edward the fourth, is buried at Saint An-

King
Edward
6.

thonies in Padua, with this, which I set down more for his honour than the elegance of the verse :

“ Anglia quem genuit, fueratque habitura patronum,
Corteneum celsa hæc continet arca Ducem :
Credita causa necis, regni affectata cupido,
Reginæ optatum nunc quoque connubium.
Cui regni procures non consensere Philippo
Reginam Regi jungere posse rati.
Europam unde fuit juveni peragrarè neceffe
Ex quo mors misero contigit ante diem.
Anglia si plorat defuncto principe tanto,
Nil mirum, Domino deficit illa pio.
Sed jam Corteneus cœlo fruiturque beatis,
Cum doleant Angli, cum sine fine gemant :
Cortenei probitas igitur, præstantia, nomen,
Dum stabit hoc templum, vivida semper erunt,
Angliaque hinc etiam stabit, stabuntque Britanni,
Conjugii optati fama perennis erit.
Improba naturæ leges Libitina rescindens,
Ex æquo juvenes præcipitatque senes.”

Walter Milles, who died for the profession of his faith, as some say, made this Epitaph for himself :

“ Non priva impietas, aut actæ crimina vitæ
Amarunt hostes in mea fata truces.
Sola fides Christi sacris signata libellis,
Quæ vitæ causa est, est mihi causa necis.”

This man was not so godly as he was impious (as it seemeth), who was buried in the night, without any ceremony, under the name of Menalcas, with this :

“ Here lyeth Menalcas, as dead as a logge,
That lived like a divel, and died like a dogge :
Here doth he lye, said I ? then say, I lye,
For from this place he parted by and by :
But here he made his descent into hell,
Without either book, candle, or bell.”

This may seem too sharp, but happily it proceeded from some exulcerated mind, as that of Don Petro of Toledo, Viceroy of Naples, wickedly detorted out of the Scriptures :

"Hic est,

Qui propter nos & nostram salutem, descendit ad inferos."

A merry and wealthy Goldsmith of London, in his life-time, prepared this for his Gravestone, which is seen at S. Leonard's, near Foster-lane.

"When the Bells be merrily rung,
And the Mass devoutly sung,
And the meat merrily eaten,
Then is Robert Traps, his wife and children quite forgotten,
Wherefore Jhesu that of Mary sprong,
Set their souls the Saints among ;
Though it be undeserved on their side,
Let them evermore thy mercy abide."

Doctor Caius, a learned Physician of Cambridge, and a co-founder of Gunwel and Caius Colledge, hath only on his monument there :

"Fui caius."

Which is as good as that of that great learned man of his profession, Julius Scaliger :

"Scaligeri quod reliquum."

But that which Cardinal Pool appointed for himself is better than both, as favouring of Christian antiquity :

"Depositum Poli Cardinalis."

This ensuing for Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper of the great Seal is worthy to be read, both for the honour of the person, who was a most wise Counsellour, and the rareness of Iambique verses in Epitaphs (albeit this our age doth delight *ιαμβίζειν*). But as he saith, *Malos Iambus enecat, beat bonos.*

"Hic Nicolaum ne Baconum conditum
Existima illum, tam diu Britannici
Regni secundum columen ; exitium malis,
Bonis asyllum, caeca quem non extulit
Ad hunc honorem fors ; sed æquitas, fides,
Doctrina, pietas, unica & prudentia.

E E

Non morte raptum crede qui unica
 Vita perennes emerit duas : agit
 Vitam secundam cœlitus inter animos ;
 Fama implet orbem, vita quæ illi tertia est,
 Hac positum in area est corpus, olim animi domus :
 Ara dicata sempiternæ memoriæ."

The excellent Poet, George Buchanan, who is thought to have made this, bestowed these 4 verses also upon Mr. Roger Ascham, sometime Reader to Queen Elizabeth, and her Secretary for the Latin tongue, one of the first refiners of the Latin purity amongst us :

" Aschamum extinctum patriæ, Graiæque Camcenæ,
 Et Latine vera cum pietate dolent.
 Principibus vixit carus, jucundus amicis,
 Re modica, in mores dicere fama nequit."

He also composed this to the memory of that worthy Prelate and Champion of our Church, John Jewel, Bishop of Sarisbury.

" Juelle, mater quem tulit Devonia,
 Nutrixque fovit erudita Oxonia ;
 Quam Maria ferro & igne patria expulit,
 Virtus reduxit, Præfulem fecit parens
 Elizabetha docta doctarum artium,
 Pulvis pusillus te sepulchri hic contegit.
 Quàm parva tellus nomen ingens occulit !"

W. Lambe, a man which deserved well of the City of London by divers charitable deeds, framed this for himself :

" As I was so be ye,
 As I am ye shall be :
 That I gave, that I have,
 That I spent, that I had :
 Thus I end all my coft,
 That I left, that I lost."

All which Claudius Secundus, a Roman, contained in these four words :

" Hic mecum habeo omnia."

Short, and yet a sufficient commendation of M Sands, was this :

“ Margarera Sandes,
Digna hac luce diuturniore,
Nisi quod luce meliore digna.”

And answerable thereunto is this, for a Gentleman of the same name :

“ Who would live in others’ breath ?
Fame deceives the dead man’s trust,
When our names do change by death :
Sands I was, and now am dust.”

Sir Philip Sidney (to whose honour I will say no more but that which Maro said of Marcellus, nephew of Augustus, “ Ostendunt terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra Esse finunt ; ” which also was answered by the Oracle to Claudius, the second Emperour, of his brother Quintilius) hath this most happily imitated out of French of Mons. Bonivet, made by Joach. du Bellay, as it was noted by Sir George Buc, in his “ Poetica.”

“ England, Netherland, the Heavens, and the Arts,
The Souldiers, and the World hath made six parts
Of noble Sidney ; for who will suppose,
That a small heap of stones, can Sidney enclose ?
England had his body, for she it fed,
Netherland his blood in her defence shed :
The Heavens have his soul, the Arts have his fame,
The Souldiers the grief, the World his good name.”

Upon the Golden Lion rampant in Gueles of the House of Albenye, which the late Earl H. Fitz-Alan bare in his Arms, as receiving the Earldom of Arundel from the House of Albenye, one composed this Epitaph :

“ Aureus ille leo (reliqui trepidate leones)
Non in sanguineo nunc stat ut ante solo.
Nam leo de Juda vicit, victoque pepercit,
Et secum patris duxit ad usque domos.
Sic cadit ut surgat, sic victus vincit, & illum,
Quem modo terra tulit, nunc Paradifus habet.”

In the Cloyfter of New Colledge in Oxford, this following is written with a coal, for one Woodgate, who bequeathed 200 pound to one, who would not bestow a Plate for his memorial :

" Heus Peripatetice,
Conde tibi tumulum, nec fide hæredis amori :
Epitaphiumque compara,
Mortuus est, nec emit libris hæc verba ducentis.
Woodgatus hic sepultus est."

Therefore the counfel of Diego de Valles is good, who made his own Tomb at Rome, with this Infcription :

"Certa dies nulla est, mors certa, incerta sequentum
Cura : locet tumulum qui sapit, ante sibi."

A Gentleman falling off his Horfe, brake his neck, which suddain hap gave occasion of much speech of his former life, and some in this judging World, judged the worst. In which respect a good Friend made this good Epitaph, remembring that of Saint Augustine, " Misericordia Domini inter pontem & fontem."

" My friend judge not me,
Thou seest I judge not thee :
Betwixt the stirrop and the ground,
Mercy I askt, mercy I found."

To the honour of Sir Henry Goodyer of Polefworth, a Knight memorable for his vertues : an affectionate Friend of his, framed this Tetraſtich :

" An ill year of a Goodyear us bereft,
Who gone to God, much lack of him here left :
Full of good gifts, of body and of mind,
Wife, comely, learned, eloquent and kind."

Short and sufficient is this of a most worthy Knight, who for his Epitaph hath a whole Colledge in Cambridge, and commanded no more to be inscribed than this :

"Virtute non vi.

Mors mihi lucrum.

Hic jacet Gualterus Mildmay Miles, & uxor ejus.

Ipse obiit ultimo die Maii, 1589.

Ipfa decimo sexto Martii, 1576.

Reliquerunt duos filios & tres filias.

Fundavit Collegium Emanuelis Cantabrigiæ.

Moritur Cancellarius & Subthesaurarius Scaccarii, & Regiæ
Majestati à consiliis."

Upon a young man of great hope, a Student in
Oxford, was made this :

"Short was thy life

Yet livest thou ever :

Death hath his due,

Yet dyest thou never."

Hitherto I have presented to you, amongst others,
all the Epitaphs of the Princes of this Realm which
I have found ; and justly blameworthy might I be,
if I should not do the same honour to the Princes of
our time.

Queen Elizabeth, a Prince admirable above her
Sex for her Princely Vertues, happy Government,
and long continuance in the same, by which she yet
surviveth, and so shall, indeared in the memory, not
only of all that knew her, but also of succeeding
Posterities, ended this transitory life at Richmond,
the 24 of March 1602, the 45 year of her Reign,
and seventy of her Age.

Upon the remove of her body to the Palace of
Whitehall by water, were written then these pas-
sionate doleful Lines :

"The Queen was brought by water to White-hall,

At every stroake the oars did tears let fall :

More clung about the Barge, fish under water

Wept out their eyes of pearl, and swom blind after.

I think the Barge-men might with easier thighs

Have row'd her thither in her peoples eyes.

For how so ere, thus much my thoughts have scan'd

She'd come by water, had she come by land."

Another at that time honoured her with this :
H. Holland.

“Weep greatest Isle, and for thy Mistress death
Swim in a double Sea of brackish water :
Weep little World for great Elizabeth,
Daughter of war, for Mars himself begat her ;
Mother of peace ; for she brought forth the later.
She was, and is, what can there more be said ?
On earth the chief, in heaven the second Maid.”

Another contrived this Distich of her :

“Spain’s Rod, Rome’s ruine, Netherland’s relief :
Earth’s joy, England’s gem, world’s wonder, Natur’s chief.”

Another on Queen Elizabeth :

“Kings, Queens, mens judgments, eyes,
See where your mirror lies ;
In whom her friends have seen
A King’s state, in a Queen ;
In whom, her foes survey’d
A man’s heart, in a Maid :
Whom, left men, for her piety
Should judge, to have been a Deity,
Heaven since by death, did summon
To shew, she was a woman.”

But upon the stately Monument which King
James erected to her memory, these Inscriptions
are affixed. At her feet :

Memoriæ Sacrum.

“Religione ad primævam sinceritatem restaurata, pace fundata, Moneta ad justum valorem reductæ, rebellione domestica vindicata, Gallia malis intestinis præcipiti sublevata, Belgio sustentato, Hispanica classe profligata, Hibernia pulsus Hispanis, & rebellibus ad deditionem coactis, pacata ; Reditibus utriusque Academiæ lege annonaria plurimum adauctis, tota denique Anglia ditata, prudentissimeque Annos XLV. administrata, Elizabetha Regina victrix, triumphatrix, pietatis studiosissima, felicissima, placida morte septuagenaria soluta, mortales reliquias dum Christo jubente resurgant immortales, in hac ecclesia celeberrima ab ipsa conservata, & denuo fundata, depofuit.”

At her head this :

"Memoriæ Æternæ.

"Elizabethæ Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Reginæ, R. Henrici VIII. filiæ, R. Henrici VII. nepti, R. Edwardi IV. pronepti, patriæ parenti, Religionis & bonarum artium altrici ; plurimarum linguarum peritia præclaris, tum anima, tum corporis dotibus, Regiisque virtutibus supra sexum

Principi Incomparabili,

Jacobus Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ
Rex, Virtutum, & Regnorum hæres, bene merenti pie
posuit."

Her nearest Cousin, Mary Queen of Scots, Dowager of France, a Princess also incomparable for her princely endowments, after her lamentable death, was thus described :

"Regibus orta, auxi Reges, Reginaque vixi :

Ter nupta, & tribus orba viris, tria regna reliqui.

Gallus opes, Scotus cunas, habet Angla sepulchrum."

But the Magnificent Monument which the King erected when he translated her Body from Peterborough to Westminster, is thus inscribed :

D. O. M.

Bonæ Memoriæ & Spei æternæ,

"Mariæ Stuartæ Scotorum Reginæ, Franciæ Dotariæ, Jacobi V. Scotorum Regis filiæ & hæredis unicæ, Henrici VII. Ang. Regis ex Margareta majori natu filii (Jacobo IV. Regi Scotorum matrimonio copulata) proneptis, Edw. IV. Angliæ Regis ex Elizabetha filiarum natu maxima abneptis, Francisci II. Gallorum Regis Conjugis, Coronæ Angliæ, dum vixit certæ & indubitæ hæredis, & Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ Monarchæ potentissimi matris.

Stirpæ verè regia & antiquissima prognata erat, maximis totius Europæ Principibus agnatione & cognatione conjuncta, & exquisitissimis animi & corporis dotibus & ornamentis cumulatissima : Verùm ut sunt varix rerum humanarum vices, postquam annos plus minus viginti in custodia detenta fortiter & strenuè (sed frustra) cum malevolorum obtreccionibus, timidorum suspicionibus, & inimicorum capitalium insidiis conflictata esset, tandem inaudito & infesto Regibus exemplo securi percutitur.

"Et contempto mundo, devicta morte, lassato carnifice, Christo servatori animæ salutem, Jacobo filio spem regni & posteritatis, & universis cædis infaustæ spectatoribus exemplum patientiæ commendans piè, patienter, intrepide cervicem Regiam securi maledictæ subjecit, & vitæ caducæ sortem cum cœlestis regni perennitate commutavit."

VI. Idus Februarii.

Anno Christi MDLXXXVII. Ætatis XXXXVI.

"Obruta frugifero sensim sic cespite surgunt
Semina, per multos quæ lautere dies.
Sanguine sancivit foedus cum plebe Jehova,
Sanguine placabant numina sancta patres :
Sanguine conspersi quos præterit ira Penates ;
Sanguine signata est quæ modo cedit humus.
Parce Deus, satis est, infandos siste dolores,
Inter funestos pervolet illa dies.
Sit Reges mactare nefas, ut sanguine posthac
Purpureo nunquam terra Britannia fluat.
Exemplum pereat cæcæ cum vulnere Christiæ ;
Inque malum præceps author, & actor eat.
" Si Meliore sui post mortem parte triumphet,
Carnifices sileant, tormina, claustra, cruces.
Quem dederant cursum superi Regina peregit :
Tempora læta Deus, tempora dura dedit.
Edidit eximium fato properante Jacobum,
Quem Pallas, Musæ, Delia fata colunt.
Magna viro, major natu, sed maxima partu
Conditur hic regum filia, sponsa, parens.
Det Deus ut nati & qui post nascentur ab illis,
Æternos videant hinc sine nube dies."

H. N. gemens P.

For Prince Henry, her Grandchild, of whose worth England seemeth unworthy, many excellent Epitaphs were composed every where extant, but this have I selected :

"Reader, wonder think it none,
Though I speak, and am a stone,
Here is shrin'd cœlestial dust,
And I keep it but in trust.
Should I not my treasure tell,
Wonder then you might as well,
How this stone could chuse but break,
If it had not learnt to speak.

Hence amaz'd, and ask not me,
 Whose these sacred ashes be.
 Purposely it is conceal'd,
 For if that should be reveal'd,
 All that read would by and by,
 Melt themselves to tears, and dy.
 Within this marble Casket lies
 A matchless jewel of rich prize,
 Whom Nature in the worlds disdain,
 But shew'd, and then put up again."

On Queen Anne:

"March with his wind hath struck a Cedar tall,
 And weeping April mourns, the Cedars fall,
 And May intends no flowers her month shall bring,
 Since she must lose the flower of all the string.
 Thus Marches wind hath caused April showers,
 And yet sad May must lose her flower of flowers."

Another on Queen Anne:

"Thee to invite, the great God sent a Star,
 Whose nearest friend and kin, good Princes are:
 Who, though they run their race of men, and dye,
 Death serves but to refine their Majestie.
 So did our Queen her Court from hence remove,
 And left this earth, to be enthron'd above.
 Then she is chang'd, not dead; no good Prince dyes,
 But like the Sun, doth only set to rise."

On King James:

"He that hath eyes, now wake and weep;
 He whose waking was our sleep
 Is fallen asleep himself, and never
 Shall wake more, till wake for ever.
 Deaths iron hand, hath clos'd those eyes
 That were at once, three kingdoms spies,
 Both to foresee, and to prevent
 Dangers, so soon as they were meant.
 That head, whose working brain alone
 Thought all mens quiet but his own,
 Is fallen at rest. (Oh) let him have
 The peace he lent us, to his grave.
 If no Naboth, all his raigne,
 Was for his fruitful Vineyard slaine,

If no Uriah lost his life
 Because he had too fair a wife :
 Then let no Shimei's curses wound
 His honour, or prophane this ground :
 Let no black mouth'd breath'd rank cur,
 Peaceful James his ashes stir.
 Princes are Gods, (O) do not then
 Rake in their Graves to prove them men."

Another on King James :

"For two and twenty years long care,
 For providing such an heir,
 Which to the Peace we had before,
 May add twice two and twenty more.
 For his day's travels, and night's watches,
 For's crasie sleep stollen by snatches,
 For two fierce Kingdoms wound in one,
 For all he did, and meant t' have done,
 Do this for him, write o're his dust,
 James the Peaceful, and the Just."

On the King of Sweden :

"Seek not, Reader, here to find
 Entomb'd, the throne of such a mind,
 As did the brave Gustavus fill,
 Whom neither time nor death can kill ;
 Go and read all the Cæsar's Acts,
 The rage of Scythian Cataracts ;
 What Epire, Greece, and Rome hath done ;
 What Kingdoms Goths and Vandals won :
 Read all the World's heroick story,
 And learn but half this Hero's glory.
 These conquered living, but life flying,
 Reviv'd the foes : he conquer'd dying,
 And Mars hath offered at his fall
 An Hecatomb of Generals :
 The great Comparer could not tell
 Whence to draw out his Parallel.
 Then do not hope to find him here,
 For whom earth was a narrow spear.
 Nor by a search in this small marble room,
 To find a King so far above a Tomb."

Another :

"Upon this place the great Gustavus dy'd,
 While victory lay weeping by his side."

Upon the Tomb of the heart of Henry the third,
late King of France, slain by a Jacobine Fryer,
1589 :

“Whether thy choice or chance thee hither brings,
Stay, Passenger, and wail the hap of Kings.
This little stone a great King's heart doth hold,
That ruled the fickle French, and Polacks bold,
Whom with a mighty warlike host attended
With trayterous knife, a cowled monster ended.
So frail are even the highest earthly things,
Go, passenger, and wail the hap of Kings.”

Upon the Duke of Richmond and Lenox :

“Are all diseases dead, or will death say
He might not kill this Prince the common way?
It was even thus, and time with death conspir'd,
To make his death as was his life admir'd.
The Commons were not summoned now, I see,
Merely to make laws, but to mourn for thee :
No less than all the Bishops might suffice
To wait upon so great a sacrifice :
The Court the altar was, the waiters Peers,
The Myrrhe and Frankincense great Cæsar's tears,
A funeral for greater pomp and state,
Nor time, nor death, could ever celebrate.”

Upon Sir Francis Vere :

“When Vere fought death, arm'd with his sword and shield,
Death was afraid to meet him in the field ;
But when his weapons he had laid aside,
Death like a coward struck him, and he dy'd.”

Upon Master Edmund Spencer, the famous
Poet:

“At Delphos shrine one did a doubt propound,
Which by the Oracle must be released,
Whether of Poets were the best renown'd,
Those that survive, or those that be deceased.
The God made answer by divine suggestion,
While Spencer is alive it is no question.”

“Qui fide antiqua, & opera assidua
Britannicam antiquitatem Indagavit,
Simplicitatem innatam honestis studiis excoluit,
Animi solertiam candore illustravit,

Gulielmus Camdenus ab Eliz.
R. ad Regis Armorum (Clarentii
titulo) dignitatem evocatus.

Hic spe certa refurgendi in
Christo S. E.

Q.

Obiit Anno Dom. 1623, 9 Novembris.
Ætatis suæ 74."

Upon Mr. Michael Draiton's Monument in
Westminster :

"Do pious Marble, let thy Readers know
What they and what their children owe
To Drayton's name, whose sacred dust
I recommend unto thy trust.
Protect his Mem'ry, and preserve his story,
Remain a lasting Monument of his glory.
And when thy ruine shall disclaim
To be the treasurer of his name ;
His name that cannot die shall be
An everlasting Monument to thee."

Isaacus Casaubonus.

"(O Doctiorum quicquid est assurgite
Huic tam colendo nomini.)"

"Quem Gallia reip. literaræ bono
Peperit, Henricus IV. Francorum Rex
Invictissimus Lutetiam literis suis
Evocatum, Bibliothecæ suæ præfecit,
Charumque deinceps dum vixit habuit.
Eoque terris erepto Jacobus Mag. Brit.
Monarcha Regum doctissimus doctis
Indulgentiff in Angliam accivit,
Munifice fovit, Posteritasque ob
Doctrinam æternam mirabitur.

H. S. E. invidia major."

"Obiit ætern. in Christo vitam anhelans
Kal. Jul. MDCXIV. Ætat. LV.

Viro opt. immortal. digniff. Th. Mortonus Ep. Dunelm.
Jucundissimæ quoad frui licuit consuetudinis
Memor Pr. S. L. cv. MDCXXXIV.
Qui nosse vult Casaubonum,
Non saxa sed chartas legat
Superfuturas marmori,
Et profuturas posteris."

But I fear now I have overcharged the Reader's mind, with doleful, dumpish and uncomfortable Lines; I will therefore for his recomfort end this part with a few conceited, merry, and laughing Epitaphs, the most of them composed by Master John Hoskins, when he was young, and will begin with the Bellows maker of Oxford.

"Here lieth John Cruker, a maker of Bellows,
His crafts-master and King of good fellows,
Yet when he came to the hour of his death,
He that made Bellows, could not make breath."

Thomas Elderton, who did arm himself with Ale (as old Father Ennis did with Wine) when he ballated, had this, in that respect made to his memory:

"Hic situs est sitiens atque ebrius Eldertonus,
Quid dico, hic situs est? hic potius sitis est."

Of him also was made this:

"Here is Elderton lying in dust,
Or lying Elderton; chuse which you lust.
Here he lies dead, I do him no wrong,
For who knew him standing, all his life long?"

Some wife man was he, and so reputed, for whom this was composed:

"Here lieth Tom Nick's body,
Who lived a fool and dyed a Nody:
As for his soul ask them that can tell,
Whether fools' souls go to heaven, or to hell."

Neither may this offend any, for that of Durandus, the old Priest, is little better:

"Hic est Durandus positus sub marmore duro,
An sit salvandus ego nescio, nec ego curo."

And this following of an Ufurer is of the same strain:

"Here lies ten in the hundred
In the ground fast ram'd:

'Tis an hundred to ten,
But his soul is damn'd."

Miserable was Hermon, who when he had only dreamed that he had disbursed money, died for wo ; likewise Pheidon, who wept not for that he should die, but that his burial would cost four shillings. But most miserable was that pinch-penny Hermocrates, that in his last will and testament made himself his own sole heir and executor of all he had, and yet refused to live when he might, because he would not be at charge of a purgation. And our Countreyman, old Sparges, might seem to be of his tribe, for whom was made :

"Here lyeth father Sparges,
That dyed to save charges."

Master Wills, Doctor of Physick, who died lately at Vienna, would often say he would have this verse only for his Epitaph :

"Here lyeth willing Wills."

But a friend of his that knew him to be Capricious, wished him to adde one verse more to make up rime after the manner ; but when he said he had nothing he might adde more, one extempore said it might be well made up thus :

"Here lyeth willing Wills
With his head full of Wind-mills."

For one that had continual new encounters in his own mind, and crammed his head with contrary contents, I have heard this :

"Here lyeth he,
Which with himself could never agree."

And for another contentious companion was made this :

"Here lyes the man who in life
With every man had law and strife ;

But now he is dead and laid in grave,
 His bones no quiet rest can have.
 For lay your ear unto this stone,
 And you shall hear how every bone
 Doth knock and beat against each other.
 Pray for his soul's health, gentle brother."

You shall have this out of the Cathedral Church
 of Norwich, whatsoever you account of it :

"Under this stone
 Lyes John Knapton,
 Who died just
 The xxviii. of August,
 M.D.XC. and one,
 Of this Church Peti-Canon."

Upon merry Tarlton, I have heard this :

"Hic situs est cujus vox, vultus, actio possit
 Ex Heraclito reddere Democritum."

"Here lyeth Richard a Preene,
 One thousand, five hundred, eighty nine,
 Of March the xx. day,
 And he that will die after him may."

"Here lyeth he who was born and cryed,
 Told threescore years, fell sick, and dyed."

"Here lyes the man whose horse did gain
 The Bell in race on Salisbury plain :
 Reader, I know not whether needs it,
 You or your horse rather to read it."

"Here lyes the man that madly slain
 In earnest madness did complain
 On nature that she did not give,
 One life to lose, another to live."

"Here lies, the Lord have mercy upon her,
 One of her Majesties maids of Honour :
 She was both young, slender and pretty,
 She died a maid, the more the pity."

"Here lyes a gallant, a gentleman of note,
 Who living could never change a groat."

"Here lyes Tom Dashe that notable Raylour,
 That in his life ne're paid Shoemaker, nor Taylour."

"One stone sufficeth (loe what death can do)
Her that in life was not content with two."

"Here lyeth C. under ground,
As wise as L. thousand pound.
He never refused the Wine of his friend,
Drink was his life, and drink was his end."

"Here lyeth N, a man of fame,
The first of his house and last of his name."

At Farlam on the west marches toward Scotland,
near Naworth Castle :

"John Bell broken-brow
Ligs under this stean :
Four of mine een sons
Laid it on my weam.
I was a man of my meate,
Master of my wife ;
I lived on mine own land
Without mickle strife."

For old Th. Churchyard the poor Court poet, this
is now commonly current :

"Come Aleſto and lend me thy torch,
To find a Church-yard in the Church-porch.
Poverty, and Poetry this tomb doth enclose,
Therefore Gentlemen be merry in Prose."

With these memorials of the dead, which give a
little living breath to the dead (for as he saith,
"*Mortuorum vita in memoria vivorum posita est*)
I conclude :

"*Et veniam pro laude peto, laudatus abundè
Non fastiditus si tibi Lector ero.*"

In Saint Paul's was this :

"Here lyes John Dod, a servant of God, to whom he is gone ;
Father or Mother, Sister or Brother, he never knew none."

"A Headborough, and a Constable, a man of fame,
The first of his house and last of his name.
Dyed, buried, and deceast the fifteenth of May,
One thousand, five hundred, and fifteen, being Whitson-
munday."

er Burbidge, the Tragedian :

"Exit Burbidge."

ter Weymarke, a constant walker in

"Defessus sum ambulando."

Puritanical Lock-Smith :

A zealous Lock-Smith dy'd of late,
and did arrive at heaven gate,
he stood without and would not knock,
because he meant to pick the lock."

Mary Saviour's this :

Here lyes William Emerson,
who lived and dyed an honest man."

Gentlewoman, whose husband's love to
her heart, he writing himself this Epitaph:

lines with golden letters I have fill'd,
as that wife whose husband's kindness kill'd."

the Martyrdome of Saint Alban, painted
as :

image of our frailty, painted glafs,
where S. Alban's life and ending was :
it beheads the Martyr, but see soon
as dropt out, seeing what he had done :
having there one head, seem'd with a tear
and the other head, lay mangled there :
his eyes before no tears would shed,
as, like tears themselves, fell from his head.
oracle, that when Saint Alban dies,
murderer himself weeps out his eyes."

much finer thred is this Epitaph, written
Hubberton in the North Countrey :

"Here ligs John Hubberton,
And there ligs his wife,
Here ligs his dagger,
And there ligs his knife :
Here ligs his daughter,
And there ligs his son,
Heigh for brave John Hubberton."

F F

One to shew the good opinion he had of his wife's
foul departed, who in her lifetime was a notorious
flrewh, writes upon her this Epitaph :

" We lived one and twenty year
As man and wife together :
I could not stay her longer here,
She's gone I know not whither ;
But did I know, I do protest,
(I speak it not to flatter)
Of all the women in the world,
I swear I'd ne're come at her.
Her body is bestowed well,
This handsome grave doth hide her,
And sure her soul is not in hell,
The diuel could ne're abide her :
But I suppose she's soar'd aloft,
For in the late great thunder,
Me thought I heard her very voice,
Rending the cloud's afunder."

Upon a couple who equally used to brawl one
with the other, was written this Epitaph :

" Hic jacet ille, qui centies & mille,
Did scold with his wife :
Cum illo jacet illa quæ communis in villa
Did quittance his life :
His name was Nick, the which was sick,
And that very male :
Her name was Nan, which lov'd well a man,
So Gentlemen, Vale."

Upon one Master Thomas Penistone, a Gentle-
man of an ancient family, and allyed to many
more, who sometime was one of the Clerks of the
Council to Queen Elizabeth, upon a stone in a
Pillar of the Cathedral Church of Rochester, is
engraven this plain Epitaph :

" Learning, Worship, Credit, Patrimony,
Wit, Wealth, Alliance, Wife and Progeny,
Servants and Friends : all this (alas) had he,
Yet lyeth now in dust here, as you see,
And so do thousands moe, and so shall ye."

He did but follow those that went before,
And you shall follow him, and others more
Shall follow you ; small difference in the matter,
But that some go before and some come after."

pon one of a base condition, yet in respect of
name, would have claimed kindred of a most
le Family, and being a notorious lyar, was this
ten :

Here lyes M.F. the son of a Bearward,
ho would needs bear Arms in despight of the Herhaught,
hich was a Lyon as black as a Jeat-stone,
ith a sword in his paws instead of a whetstone,
ve sons had this lyer, 'tis worth the revealing,
wo arrant lyers, and three hang'd for stealing.
is daughters were nine, never free from sores,
ree crooked Apostles, and six arrant whores."

pon a Dyer I find this written :

"He that dyed so oft in sport,
Dyed at last, no colour for't."

ot much unlike to the former is this written
n a Cobler named Cosier :

"Come, gentle Reader, gentle friend,
And here behold poor Cosier's end.
Longer in length his life had gone,
But that he had no Last so long.
O mighty Death ! whose art can kill
The man that made soles at his will."

n a child drowned catching of an Appè :

"Disce meo malo, posse carere malo."

pon the untimely death of a child :

"As careful Nurfes to their bed do lay
Their children, which too long would wantons play :
So to prevent all my ensuing crimes,
Nature my Nurse laid me to bed betimes."

n a youth that died with grief.

"Surpris'd by grief and sickness, here I lye,
Stopt in my middle race, and soon made dead,

Youth do not grutch at God, if soon thou dye,
 But know he trebles favour on thy head,
 Who for the morning's work equals the pay
 With those that have indur'd the heat of day."

On rich Hewet :

" Here lyes rich Hewet, a Gentleman of note,
 For why he gave three Owls in his coat,
 Ye see he is buried in the Church of Saint Paul,
 He was wife, becaufe rich, and now you know all."

In Saint Martin's in the fields :

" Here lies Richard Hobbs,
 Yeoman of the Roabs
 To our late Sovereign Queen Mary,
 And dyed on Ash-wednesday being the 19 of February,
 One thousand five hundred sixty and one,
 On whose soul Iesus have mercy, Amen."

Upon John Death :

" Here lyes John Death, the very same
 That went away with a cousin of his name."

Upon one that was blind and deaf :

" Here lyes Dick Freeman,
 That could not hear nor see man."

Upon one that was bald :

" Here lyes John Baker inrolled in mould,
 That never gave a penny to have his head poul'd
 Now the Plague & the Pox light on such a device,
 That undid the Barber and starv'd up the Lice."

Upon one Jarret, a Grocer buried in Saint Mary
 Saviour's, in Southwark, 1626 :

" Some call'd him Garret, but that was too high,
 His name was Jarret that here doth lye :
 Who in his life was toft on many a wave,
 And now he lyes anchored in his own grave.
 The Church he did frequent while he had breath,
 He desired to lye therein after his death.
 To heaven he is gone, the way before,
 Where of Grocers there is many more."

Upon Simon Vadloe, Vintner, dwelling in Fleet-
et, at the sign of the Divel and Saint Dunstane :

"Apollo & cohors Musarum,
Bacchus vini & uvarum,
Ceres pro pane & cervisia,
Adeste omnes cum tristitia ;
Diique Deæque lamentate cuncti
Simonis Vadloe funera defuncti.
Sub signo malo bene vixit, mirabile !
Si ad cœlos recessit, gratias Diabole."

We will now come nearer to our times, and shew
the fertility of our modern wits in some few,
extraordinary pieces of various invention, upon
several subjects, some grave and serious, others
gay and ridiculous, as

Upon a Butcher that married a Tanner's daughter :

"A fitter match hath never bin,
The flesh is married to the skin."

found this written upon the Doom Church in
Hecht upon Cain and Abel :

"*Abel.* Sacrum pingue dabo, non macrum sacrificabo.

"*Cain.* Non dabo pingue sacrum, sacrificabo macrum."

Upon two beautiful children, a brother and sister,
who wanted each of them an eye :

"Lumine Acon dextro caruit, Leonilla sinistro,
Et potuit forma vincere uterque Deos :
Parve puer, lumen quod habes concede forori,
Sic tu cæcus Amor, sic erit illa Venus."

Englified thus :

"Thou one-ey'd Boy, whose sister of one mother,
Matchless in beauty are, save one to th' other :
Lend her thine eye, sweet Lad, and she will prove
The Queen of Beauty, thou the God of Love."

On a Gold-smith that tip'd a stone-jugg with
his ear :

"He that did tip stone jugges about the brim,
Met with a black pot, and that pot tip'd him."

Upon two Lovers who, being espoused, dyed both
before they were married :

“ She first deceas’d, he for a little tryed
To live without her, lik’d it not, then dyed.”

Man’s life :

“ Man is a glaſs, life is as water
That’s weakly wall’d about :
Sin brings in death, death breaks the glaſs,
So runs the water out.”

Upon a young Gentlewoman :

“ Nature in this ſmall volume was about
To perfect what in woman was left out :
But fearing left a piece ſo well begun
Might want preſervatives when ſhe had done ;
Ere ſhe could finiſh what ſhe undertook,
Threw duſt upon it, and ſhut up the book.”

“ Here lyes a woman, no man can deny it,
That reſts in peace although ſhe liv’d unquiet.
Her huſband prays if by her grave you walk,
You’d gently tread, for if awak’d, ſhe’ll talk.

Upon Maſter Parſons, Organist at Weſtminſter :

“ Death paſſing by, and hearing Parſons play,
Stood much amazed at his depth of ſkill,
And ſaid, this Artiſt muſt with me away,
(For Death bereaves us of the better ſkill)
But let the Quire, while he keeps time, ſing on,
For Parſons reſts, his ſervice being done.”

Upon Maſter Charles Wray, ſon to Sir William
Wray, who died at ſixteen or ſeventeen years of
age, and lyeth buried in Aſhbie Church in Lincoln-
ſhire :

“ When I in Court had ſpent my tender prime,
And done my beſt to pleaſe an earthly Prince,
Even ſick to ſee how I had loſt my time,
Death pitying mine eſtate, remov’d me thence,
And ſent me (mounted upon Angels’ wings)
To ſerve my Saviour and the King of Kings.”

aphium Honoratissimæ Heroïnæ Janæ Win-
Marchionissæ ædibus suis Basingæ defunctæ :

"Inelyta Jana jaces hoc Marchionissa Sepulchro,
Cestrensis patri gloria sola foli.
Quam non usque adeo tituli, non census honores,
Stemmata magnorum sanguine ducta ducum ;
Non tua qua Triviæ certabas forma Dianæ
Dicere & Idaliæ vel superasse Deam ;
Quàm pietas tua grata Deo, quàm pectore casto
Religionis amor, vitæque labe carens :
Quàm roseo residens generosa modestia vultu,
Abque supercillii nube benigna manus.
Oh quam te memorem ! superi nova civis Olympi,
Diva anima æternum confociata Deo ;
Angelicis ubi mista choris agis alta triumphos,
In patriam, fragili carne soluta, redux."

Upon a Collier :

"Here lyes the Collier John of Nafhes,
By whom Death nothing gain'd he swore :
For living he was dust and ashes,
And being dead, he is no more."

A Gentleman, who dwelt at Bermington in Hol-
land, wrote this Distich in Latine upon his wife,
buried at Westerkeale in Lincolnshire :

Quæ pia, quæ prudens, quæ provida, pulchra fuisti,
Uxor in æternum, chara Maria, vale."

Upon an usurer :

"Here lyes he underneath this stone,
That whilst he liv'd did good to none ;
And therefore at the point to dye,
More cause had some to laugh than cry.
His eldest son thought he had wrong,
Because he lingered out so long ;
But now he's dead, how ere he fares,
There's none that knows, nor none that cares."

On a Miller :

"Death without warning was as bold as brief,
When he kill'd two in one, a Miller and a thief."

On a Wrestler :

"Death to this wrestler gave a fine fall,
That trip'd up his heels, and took no hold at all."

Upon a rich Countrey Gentleman :

"Of Woods, of Plains, of Hills and Dales,
Of Fields, of Meads, of Parks and Pales,
Of all I had, this I possess,
I need no more, I have no less.

On the Proverb, *Quot capita, tot sententiæ* :


"So many heads, so many wits, fie, fie,
Is't not a shame for Proverbs thus to lie?
My self, though my acquaintance be but small,
Know many heads that have no wit at all."

If ye be melancholily disposed, peruse these heroick
lines, penned surely by the Prince of Poets of his
time in France :

Anthonium Areria, which Authour I keep as a Jewel,
de Bello Romano.

"O Deus omnipotens fortunam quando tuabis,
Quæ fuit in guerra tunc inimica mihi?
Perdere garfetas omnes fecit atque cavallos,
In campo Romæ quando batelha fuit.
Atque ego pensabam personam perdere charam,
Sed bene gardavit tunc mea membra Deus.
Nam Christum Dominum de grandio corde pregabam,
Et sanctam matrem fortiter atque suam,
Omnes & sanctos & sanctas de paradiso.
Devotus grandus atque fidelis eram.
De tali guerra non escapare putabam,
Et mihi de morte granda paora fuit.
Pou Pou bombardæ tota de parte putabant,
Dixisses nigrus ille Diabulus erat.
Tiff taff tof & tif dum la bombardæ pifognat,
Garda las gambas nec tibi bleffet eas, &c."

IMPOSSIBILITIES.


 MBRACE a Sun-beam, and on it
 The shadow of a man beget.
 Tell me who reigns in the Moon.
 Set the Thunder to a tune.
 Cut the Axel-tree that bears
 Heaven and Earth, or stop the Sphears
 With thy finger ; or divide
 Beggery from lust and pride.
 Tell me what the Syrens sing ;
 Or the secrets of a King,
 Or his power, and where it ends,
 And how far his will extends.
 Go and find the bolt that last
 Brake the clouds, or with like haste
 Fly to the East, and tell me why
 Aurora blushes ; if to lie
 By an old man trouble her mind,
 Bid Cephalus be less unkind.
 Canst thou by thine art uncase
 The mysteries of a Courtier's face ?
 Canst thou tell me why the night
 Weeps out her eyes ? If for the sight
 Of the lost Sun, she puts on black,
 Post to his fall, and turn him back.
 If not for him, then go and find,
 A Widow, or all woman-kind,
 Like to their outward shew, and be
 More than a Delphian Deity."

ANAGRAMMS.



PON Henry the Fourth, King of France,
slain by Ravillack :

"Henricus IV. Galliarum Rex,
In herum exurgis Ravillac."

Upon Queen Anne :

"Anna Britannorum Regina
In Anna regnantium arbor.
Elizabetha Stevarta
Has Artes beata velit."

Upon a fair Lady, the Lady Ann Dudlie, in Italian :

"Anna Dudleia
E la nuda Diana."

Upon Master John Dowland, the famous Lutanist :

"Joannes Doulandus
Annos ludendo haufi.
Maria Meutas
Tu à me amaris.
Dame Elianor Davies,
Never fo mad a Lady."

Upon a brave Lady, living in Norfolk :

"Amie Mordaunt
Tum more Dianam
Me induat Amor
Nuda O te miram."

Sir Thomas Ridgewaie, being Treasurer of Ireland, gave for his Crest a Camel kneeling under his burthen, whereupon this Anagram fortunately fell upon his name :

"Thomas Ridgewaie.
Mihi Gravato, Deus."

Palindromes are those where the syllables are the same backward or forward, these also are of fine invention : as

A noble Lady, in Queen Elizabeth's time, being for a time forbidden the Court for being over-familiar with a great Lord in favour, gave this Emblem,¹ the Moon covered with a cloud, and underneath :

"Ablata, & alba."

A great Lawyer, as well this, the same also backward and forward :

"Si nummi immunis."

Which may be englished :

"Give me my fee, and I warrant you free."

A Scholar and a Gentleman, living in a rude Country Town where he had no respect, wrote this with a Coal in the Town Hall :

"Subi dura à rudibus."

At Cadiz in Spain is to be seen this mad Epitaph of one whose name was Infanus :

"Lector.

"Hic Infanus jaceo, & nisi tu me infanior fuisses, non huc ad ultimas orbis partes me quæsitum accessisses.

Vale et fapi."

¹ Those devices that express Names by bodies are termed Rebus, in old times esteemed ingenious devices, but in ours ridiculous.

Master Newbury, the Stationer, devised for himself an Ewtree with the Berries, and a great N. hanging upon a Snag in the midst of the Tree, which could not chuse but make Newbury.

1

NOTE.

MY design in editing this valuable and curious volume was not so much to expand the matter as to render the spirit of it acceptable to modern and non-antiquarian readers. Otherwise it had been an easy task to add very largely to every chapter, and particularly to this last one. I know of no good collection of epitaphs, though many collections exist; but there are two epitaphs so finely expressed that I cannot refrain from adding them here. The first, though *decies repetita*, will not displease; it is Ben Jonson's on Mary, Countess of Pembroke:—

“ Underneath this fable hearse,
Lies the subject of all verse;
Sydney's sister, Pembroke's mother;
Death! ere thou hast slain another,
Learned and fair and good as she,
Time shall throw a dart at thee!”

The second is a modern one in Rottingdean church, near Brighton, in honour of the Rev. Dr. Hooker:

“ By Nature, a man of talents; by Education, a man of learn-

NOTE.

by Grace a man of God. He preached and followed Christ, now he sees him as he is."

This seems to be an expansion of Fuller's character of Mr. John Dod, a Cheshire clergyman Vorthies," vol. i. p. 278): "By nature a witty, industry a learned, and by Grace a Godly divine."





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